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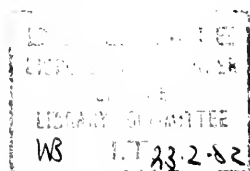
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FIG. 1.—PITCHER FOUND NEAR EARLSWOOD COMMON, REDHILL.
Height $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches. (Brit. Mus.)

MEDIAEVAL POTTERY FOUND IN ENGLAND.

By R. L. HOBSON.

When we consider the scanty information that the writers on English Ceramics have been able to give about such important and comparatively recent factories as Bow and Chelsea, we can hardly wonder that so little is known of the potters of the middle ages whose highest efforts, as far as we can judge from existing specimens of their work, never strayed beyond the range of common household utensils, unless it was to make an occasional excursion into the grotesque. Records of their trade are rare and jejune in the extreme, and the surviving examples of their work, though less infrequent, are scarcely more enlightening. The fact is, no one troubled to preserve the one or the other, as a glance at the uncertain and fragmentary state of most existing collections will show.

The few whole specimens on our shelves have for the most part been rescued from abandoned cellars and disused wells, the rest come chiefly from the sites of the old factories or the refuse heaps. A very few have been found buried under the foundations of houses and other buildings where they seem to have played a part in the ceremony of the foundation laying.

Still, whatever their intrinsic merits or provenance may be, they are all we have to fill the large gap in ceramic history between Saxon times and the Renaissance, and the object of the present paper is to review the evidence and such documentary specimens as we know of, and to try to arrive at some means of classifying the pots, mugs, pitchers, cruskyns, costrels, goddards, gourds,¹ etc. at present so vaguely arranged in our collections.

The earliest contemporary notices of mediaeval pottery are, so far as we know, a reference in the Constitution of

¹ For some notes on these various terms, see Chaffers, *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain*.

the Abbey of Evesham (date 1214) to "cups, jugs, basins, etc. of earthenware,"¹ and the much quoted bill paid by the executors of Eleanor, wife of Edward I., "item Julianae La Potere, pro ccc picheriis viiis. vid."² Others of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are given by Chaffers and Jewitt in their respective works, and though they serve to show that metal, wood and leather were not the only materials used for household vessels of that period, they will not help us in our work of classification.

It might be expected that the illuminated MSS. would provide incidentally a series of pictures from which we could trace the development, in form at least, of the pottery. A search through all those in the British Museum from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries that give drawings of vessels that are likely to be of pottery, revealed a number of illuminations on a miniature scale with drinking cups, jugs, pitchers, etc. drawn, as a rule, in outline only, and with little or no indication of their material. Indeed, the fact that they usually figure on the banqueting boards of royal or noble personages would point to their being of some finer material than we have reason to think the potters of the period could command. There is too a disappointing similarity of shape throughout the whole series, which leads one to conclude that either the shapes altered very little during four centuries, or that the MSS. only give conventional renderings of them. In a word the manuscript illuminations, though giving at times valuable corroborative evidence, do not go far towards solving our difficulties.

It is clear that we shall have to rely mainly on the pots themselves for what guidance we may get. Examine any large series such as that in the British Museum or the Guildhall, and you will find that their technical characteristics are confined, with few exceptions, to the following. *Body* of grey, buff, or red clay, coarse and gritty, roughly formed on the wheel, and, as a rule,

¹ See Church, *English Earthenware*, p. 10.

² See *Chaffers*, p. 37. It will be noticed that the person mentioned, Juliana La Potere, is a woman. It does not, however, necessarily follow

that women were potters at that time. Cf. *Piers the Plowman*, Pass. V, l. 323, "Rose ye dissheres." Both Juliana and Rose are just as likely to have been vendors as makers of their wares.

highly fired. *Glaze* of lead, as a rule sparingly put on and sometimes only covering the mouth and neck of the vessel. This lead glaze has naturally a yellowish tint, and as it is nearly always translucent, the ultimate colour of the surface depends largely on the body of the ware, *viz.* over a red body this glaze produced a rich reddish brown surface, so often loosely spoken of as brown glaze; over a light buff or white clay it produced shades of yellow. To get this effect with darker ware, the body had to be washed with pipeclay before glazing. The familiar green colour was obtained by adding oxide of copper to the lead, and the purplish black by an admixture of manganese.¹

Ornament. The commonest form of ornament consisted of a white clay applied either in slip (*i.e.* a creamy mixture of clay and water) with which rude patterns were traced, or in lumps which were shaped into various designs of human and animal forms, leaves, etc. generally by hand, though sometimes neater work was done with stamps. Studs of clay stamped with the notched end of a stick are not uncommon, and remind us on the one hand of the ornament on Anglo-Saxon pottery, and on the other of the "prunts" on early glass. Simple patterns, such as herring-bone, roughly scratched, stamped annulets, thumb marking and crinkling, and twists of clay applied to the handles of pitchers will about exhaust the mediaeval potter's store of embellishments.

The presence or absence of the lead glaze is in itself no certain evidence of date. It is found on what appear to be the earliest pieces and is often absent from the later ones. To glance for a moment at its history, lead is found in the glaze of Babylonian bricks (about 600 B.C.), on Roman ware of the second and third centuries of our era, on Arab pottery of the ninth century, and according to Passeri, on the wares of Pesaro in A.D. 1100.² The yellow and green varieties appear on two fragments from the grave of an Abbot of Jumièges

¹ The colour of the background, accidents in firing or subsequent decomposition should account for any other tints observed on mediaeval pots, excepting the brown black of the "Cistercian

Ware," which was due to oxide of iron.

² See *Catalogue of Pottery and Porcelain in the Museum of Practical Geology*, p. 41.

dated A.D. 1120, which are now preserved in the Sèvres Museum.¹ In this country its use seems to have been unknown from Roman times till the Norman Period at the earliest, but even this date rests on purely conjectural evidence.

The earliest documentary piece of this country hitherto published² does not date back further than the end of the twelfth century, and though it is the custom to speak of much of the mediaeval pottery as Norman, I know of no piece that can be actually proved to go back to that period. It is of course certain that pottery was made in Norman,³ as in all other historic times, and no doubt there are examples of it in our collections if we could only identify them.

I am aware that Mr. Jewitt claimed to have found evidence of a Norman pottery at Burley Hill, in the parish of Duffield, Derbyshire. This important find consisted of a number of small jugs, pipkins, etc. of a common kind, and a fine pitcher ornamented with four horseshoes and two buckles.⁴ Mr. Jewitt hastily concluded that the horseshoes were proof that the jug was made for one of the Norman Earls of Ferrers (who had Duffield Castle till the reign of Henry III.), and that thus a type of Norman pottery had been definitely established. But in an exhaustive article on the "armorial bearings of the families of Ferrers and Peverel"⁵ Mr. J. R. Planché has shown that there is no evidence that the horseshoes appeared in the coat of arms of Ferrers till the middle of the thirteenth century. It was noted also by Mr. Solon⁶ that there was an Augustinian Priory at Darly, near Duffield, which bore the horseshoes in its coat of arms, so that the pitcher in question may have equally

¹ See *Catalogue of the Sèvres Museum* by Brogniart and Rioereux, p. 138 and Plate XXIX, fig. 6. These fragments appear to have a family likeness to many pieces in our mediaeval collections.

² Figure of a knight in the Salisbury Museum, *Arch. Jour.*, XXVI, 188.

³ "*Figuli* are mentioned among the inferior trades" in the Domesday Book. See *Domesday Book*, by W. de Gray Birch, p. 160.

⁴ See Jewitt, *Ceramic Art of Great Britain*, I, 79.

⁵ See *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Ass.*, VII, 220.

⁶ "On some fragments of English Earthenware lately discovered at Derby," by M. L. Solon. Reprinted from the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 1887.

well been made for the priors of Darly as for the family of Ferrers, and the documentary value of the find is reduced to next to nothing.

It will not be out of place here to note that in feudal times it was customary for the poor potter to present periodically a specially prepared vessel as a sort of tribute to the feudal lord under whose protection he worked. Such a piece would no doubt usually show the armorial bearings of the lord in question. We have evidence of this in France¹; and in Germany some of the finest pieces of Siegburg stoneware were made as yearly offerings to the abbots, who were overlords of the potters there.²

Among the earliest pieces that bear any evidence of date, if not actually the earliest, is a pitcher which was found near Earlswood Common, Redhill, and which is now in the British Museum (Fig. 1). It has an oviform body of coarse red clay and lead glaze of a pale greenish yellow tone; the neck is broken away; the handle is enriched with a twist of clay down the centre and borders of rude incisions; round the lowest part of the body is a chevron pattern in slip, and round the remains of the neck a band of clay studs: the main ornament consists of an applied frieze of roughly modelled clay representing a hunting scene, which includes two mounted men, one with a horn and the other with a club, four hounds and two stags. Unfortunately the figures are too rough and featureless to fix the date of the piece with any precision, but it seems likely that they are not later than the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth. It will be seen that in technique this pitcher is equal to any of the productions of the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth centuries.

No such uncertainty mars the documentary value of the Salisbury ewer already alluded to. It is in the form of a mounted knight, whose flat-topped helmet, kite-shaped shield with boss, and prick-spur belong to the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth

¹ See oath of the potter of Plénée-Jugon quoted by Jannicke, *Grundriss der Keramik*, I, 226.

² See *The Ancient Art Stoneware of the Low Countries and Germany* (by M. L. Solon, London, 1892), I, 67.

centuries¹ (Fig. 2). It is made of green-glazed pottery and belongs to a class of rare vessels of which it will be useful to quote a few published examples :

Jug in form of a horseman, found at Lewes : probably of thirteenth century date.²

A similar vessel found in Broad Street.³

A similar vessel found at Winwick, Lanes., in the Warrington Museum.⁴

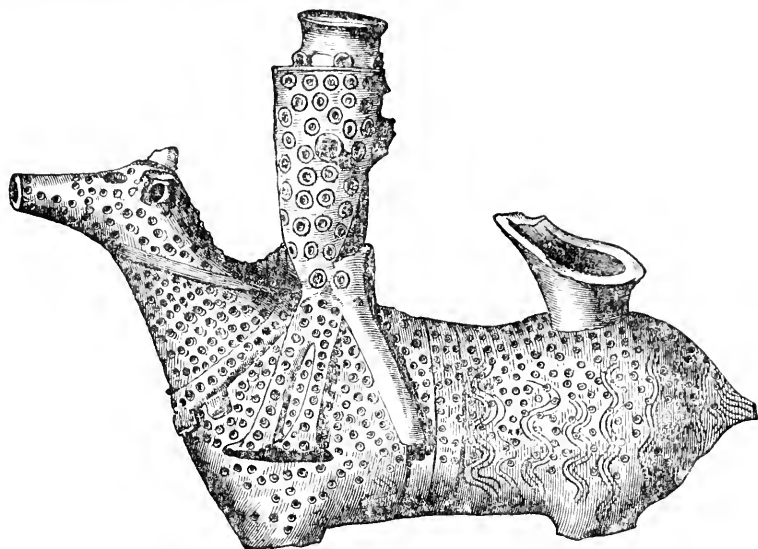


FIG. 2.—EWER IN THE SALISBURY MUSEUM.
Length, 13½ inches. Date, late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

Ewer in form of a ram in the Scarborough Museum.⁵

Vessel in form of a bear in the Exeter Museum.⁶

Ewer in form of a stag (?) found at Seaford, Sussex, 1846.⁷

In the British Museum is an equestrian ewer found at Norwich, and dated by the armour indicated to about 1320 ; with it is a fragment of another, a helmet which must be at least a century earlier (Figs. 3 and 4).

¹ See Jewitt (*op. cit.*), 84, and *Arch. Jour.*, XXVI, 188.

² See Jewitt (*op. cit.*), 84, *Arch. Jour.*, XVI, 103, and *Jour. of the Brit. Arch. Ass.*, II, 343.

³ See *Jour. of the Brit. Arch. Ass.*, XLI, 423.

⁴ See *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1857-8, X, 338.

⁵ See Jewitt, I, 85.

⁶ See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, IX, 315.

⁷ See *Arch. Jour.*, XVI, 103.

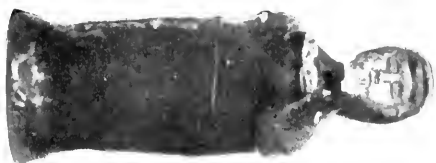


FIG. 35.



FIG. 34.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 3.

FIGURES 34 AND 35. EWER AND FRAGMENT OF SIMILAR VESSEL, WATERING-POT AND DRINKING CUP OF VARIOUS DATES.
Height of Fig. 34, 12 inches. (Brit. Mus.)

All these seem to be clay representatives of the fine metal ewers of equestrian and animal forms, which appear to have been in fashion from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.

They are, however, special pieces and among the least difficult to classify and date.

Of more general interest are two small jugs from the Roach Smith Collection and at present in the British Museum. With them is a note stating that they were found with pennies of Henry III. and Edward III. (*sic*) in Friday Street. Mr. Roach Smith, however, in his

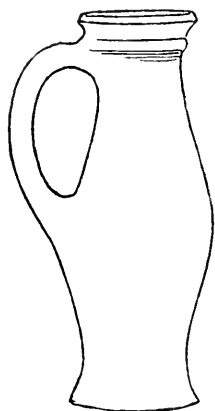


FIG. 5.
Height, 6 inches.



FIG. 8.
Height, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
(Brit. Mus.)



FIG. 6.
Height, 6 inches.

catalogue described the coins as of Henry III. and Edward I.¹ Unfortunately the pennies are not to hand to decide the question; but I understand that it is only during the last two or three years that the pennies of the three Edwards have been finally differentiated,² and that a coin of Henry III. would not be current in the time of Edward III. It may then be taken as morally certain that the coins in question are of Henry III. and Edward I. and that the jugs are a thirteenth century type. They are unglazed (Figs. 5 and 6).

¹ See Catalogue of Roach Smith Collections, No. 583.

² I am indebted for this information

to Mr. H. A. Grueber, Assistant Keeper of the Coins and Medals in the British Museum.

Very similar to these are two small pots found with two much larger ones, "a very great depth in the ground near the extreme boundary of the walls of Trinity College, Oxford, formerly Durham Hall or College, adjoining the premises of Balliol College and enclosed for the use of scholars about the year 1290. There is therefore every

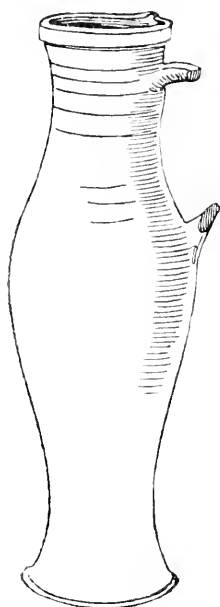


FIG. 7.

Height, 17 inches.

reason to believe from this and other circumstances, particularly from a coin being found in one of the larger vessels, that they were placed there deliberately at the time of the original foundation of the walls, according to the common custom still observed in the commencement of any great undertaking of this kind."¹ Unfortunately again the coin has been lost and no description of it is on record. The pots are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The shape of the larger ones is not uncommon and is given in Fig. 7. They are of coarse buff ware with patches of green glaze.

To pass on to the fourteenth century, the small cup (Fig. 8) was found with coins of David II. of Scotland (1329-71), near Alldin Grange Bridge, Durham. It is made of buff ware unglazed, and has a kind of lip cut out of the rim, but no handle.

A much more interesting document will be found in the Luttrell Psalter, which is of early fourteenth century date. It is an illumination which appears in a series of the rustic sports of the period, and shows two labourers testing the hardness of each other's heads with pitchforks.

¹ See *Arch. Jour.*, III, 62, and Jewitt, I, 83. There are other instances of the burial of pots at the foundation of mediæval buildings both in this country and on the Continent. In some cases the vessels have been found full of bones of animals. A large amphora so loaded was found head downwards at some depth in Monk Gate, York, in 1848, and is now in the British Museum. A

more curious find was that of a small coffin full of child's bones in the foundations of the fifteenth century church at Barbecke.

For some interesting notes on the subject, see F. Hänselmann, *Thongeschirre des Mittelalters*, in Westermann's *Jahrbuch der Illustrirten Deutschen Monatshefte*, January, 1877.



FIG. 10.

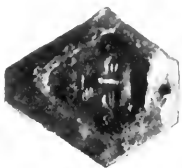


FIG. 12.



FIG. 11.



FIG. 16. (Height, 11 inches.)

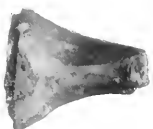


FIG. 11.



FIG. 13.

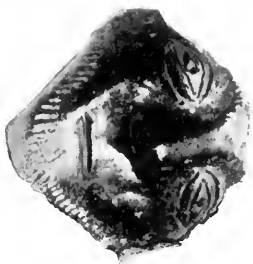


FIG. 15.

STAMPS AND FRAGMENTS FROM LINCOLN, AND PITCHER FROM CAMBRIDGE. (Brit. Mus.)

One of the pitchers has been shivered, and as the man who received the blow does not seem to be much the worse for it, we may fairly conclude that the vessel was made of earthenware. It is in fact the earliest MS. illustration that can with certainty be said to represent pottery.¹

The shape of this pitcher, which we may consider as an early fourteenth century type, is not an uncommon one. Fig. 9 from the British Museum conforms closely to it. It is of buff ware with patchy green glaze; it has rude ornament scored with a pointed instrument and a convex base with its edges crinkled by the potter's thumb.

The potters' moulds, fragments and waste pieces found by Mr. Arthur Trollope in the parish of St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln, and acquired by the British Museum in 1867 are evidence of the existence of a pottery there in mediaeval times. The moulds and some of the pieces with heads stamped on them clearly belong to the fourteenth century. The reticulated headdress of the time of Edward III. appears on two of them (Fig. 10), and there can be no doubt that the male head (Fig. 12)² belongs to the same century.

The reader will compare with these the Kirkmann jug³ which has the head apparently of Edward II. represented under the lip.

Of the same provenance, and it may fairly be assumed of approximately the same date, are certain fragments of vessels with rude hand-modelled masks and faces (Figs. 14, 15), which seem to have served as spouts and handles of pitchers. Such a pitcher may be seen in the

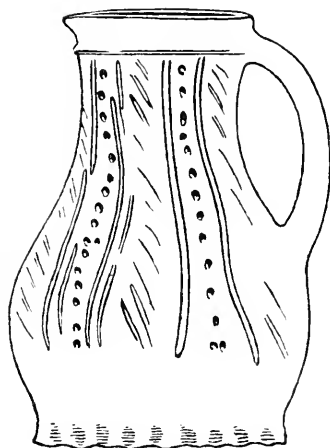


FIG. 9.

Height, 9½ inches.

¹ See *Vetust. Monumenta*, VI, Pl. XXIV, Fig. 17.

² Fig. 11 shows the shank of Fig. 10. Fig. 12 is an impression from a stamp.

Fig. 13 is an actual fragment with similar stamped head.

³ See *Jour. of the Brit. Arch. Ass.*, III, 63, and Chaffers (*op. cit.*), 38, fig. 52.

British Museum (Fig. 16). The masks on its neck bear such a strong family likeness to the Lincoln fragments that we have no hesitation in assigning it to the same period and perhaps, though found at Cambridge, to the same kiln.

This is an instructive piece. It introduces us to several peculiarities of the kind of ware usually assigned to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The body is of buff clay with green glaze and broad vertical band of manganese black on the shoulders; the handle is ornamented with a leaf-shaped impression at the lower end made by the thumb, the base is slightly convex, but the edges of it (as in Fig. 9) are thumbed downwards in a crinkled band and so steady the vessel, which must otherwise have been very unstable on its rounded bottom; the body is enriched with a scale or pineapple pattern formed of applied leaf-shaped pieces of clay. This last form of ornament has been noticed on several pots which may with much probability be dated to the fourteenth century. The peculiarities of the base and handle are found more or less strongly developed on many pieces that seem to belong to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The foliations are often found in pairs at both ends of the handles, the bases are decidedly convex, and the vessels are only saved from rolling over by either a continuous border of thumbing or by three or four pieces of it which serve as small feet to support the pot.

The only instance of a manuscript illustration of this last feature I have been able to find, is in a Flemish MS. of the fifteenth century,¹ where a man is trying to quench a fire with the contents of a squat round-bellied jug, with a boldly crinkled footrim. It is a common feature of early German and Flemish stoneware.

There is little evidence² to help us to differentiate the pottery of the fifteenth century, if indeed it does differ in any essential point, from that of the fourteenth. A jug of red ware with traces of glaze (Fig. 17) was found

¹ Brit. Mus. MSS. 19 E. VI.

² In the *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, III (Second Series), 77, is a notice of an earthen jug 5½ inches high with "an olive green glaze," found full of groats of the

fifteenth century at Clay Coton, Northamptonshire, and exhibited by the Rev. As-heton Pownall. There is, however, no illustration given.

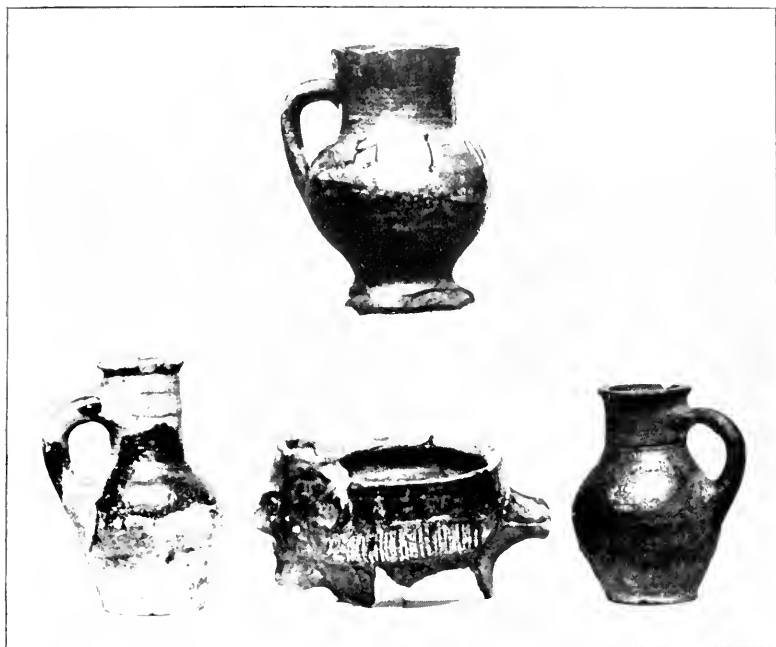


FIG. 18.

FIG. 19A.

FIG. 17.

THREE JUGS AND A FRAGMENT OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY DATE.

Height of Fig. 19, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. (Brit. Mus.)

FIG. 21.

FIG. 20.



FIG. 24.

FIG. 22.

FIG. 23.

VESSELS OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY DATE.

Height of Fig. 21, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. (Brit. Mus.)

with a document of the reign of Henry V. at Ardleigh, near Colchester, and should therefore be of early fifteenth century make. It is probable that jugs with high cylindrical necks belong to this century (Fig. 18). This supposition is borne out to a great extent by the manuscript illuminations of the period, and the form is exemplified by Fig. 19, which bears in black-letter the legend MARIA, which would, in itself, suggest a fifteenth century origin. The technique of this jug is worthy of notice. It is, in fact, an early specimen of "sgraffiato ware," *i.e.* the red ware of the body is coated with a wash of white clay on the upper part, and the letters of the legend are scratched through this covering into the red clay beneath; all this was done prior to glazing.

There are other pieces of special kinds that can be assigned to the fifteenth century, because they are ornamented with a mask or some indication of costume that gives the period, but I have not been fortunate enough to find any that establish a general type. Of this kind is Fig. 19A, which must have been the neck of a very large pitcher; it was found in London.

The pottery of the sixteenth century in this country, as far as we are acquainted with it, belongs in spirit to the mediaeval period, and shows little or no signs of a renaissance. It is inevitable that some mention of it should be made from time to time in this paper. To this century belong the small neatly formed beer mugs with globular bodies and necks generally cylindrical, made of fine light buff ware with a rich mottled green glaze usually covering about half or two-thirds of the surface. They are clearly indicated in a Losely MS. (of sixteenth century date), where it is remarked that "the gentlemen of the Temple drank out of green earthen pots made from a white clay found in Farnham Park."¹ Fig. 20 is of this description. It was mounted in silver by the original finder, who added the inscription, "Found in a vault under the Steward's Office, Lincoln's Inn, 1788." Other vessels have been appropriated to the sixteenth century on the strength of their body or glaze resembling that of these "green pots."

Pilgrim's bottles or costrels fall naturally into a class by themselves. They are vessels generally provided with loops for suspension, and were carried by workmen and travellers slung on their persons or their saddles. They are figured occasionally in MSS. of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. A few characteristic specimens are given (Figs. 25-30). Fig. 29 has a marbled surface formed by streaking white slip on the red body before glazing; it has also lion masks on the handles. Three of the others have one side flattened and the other moulded into a rude representation of a woman's breast. The gourd (Fig. 28) has also this mammiform ornament, otherwise it is very like reaper's bottles depicted in a Spanish MS. of the fifteenth century, and a Flemish one of the sixteenth. Chaucer's line, "I have heer, in a gourde, a draught of wyn," has been quoted in somewhat doubtful reference to this form.¹

Fig. 25 is an unusually fine specimen of a costrel, and bears the arms and devices of Henry VIII. It has a rich green glaze and stamped ornament, and its workmanship, which is far beyond the ordinary production of the period, may be compared with that of the candle bracket and stove tile in the British Museum bearing the cypher and arms of Queen Elizabeth.

A very interesting class of earthenware was brought to the notice of the Society of Antiquaries² by Mr. Micklethwaite in 1893, when he exhibited some fragments found at the Cistercian abbeys of Fountains, Jervaulx and Kirkstall in Yorkshire. The ware is thin, very hard and well potted, of red body with brown-black glaze probably coloured with oxide of iron and sometimes enriched with slip decoration. One piece was of white body with red slip ornament.

The circumstances under which the fragments were found show that they cannot be of later date than the dissolution of the Monasteries. Similar specimens have been found in the neighbourhood of a Cistercian abbey

¹ *Id.*, 36, "The Manciple's Prologue," l. 82. Cp. "The Chanouns Yemannes Tale," ll. 790-4:

"And sondry vessels made of erthe and glas

Violes, croslets, and sublymatories.
Cucurbitæ and *alembyses* cek."

Latin *cucurbita*=a gourd.

² See *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XV, 6.

FIG. 25.

FIG. 26.

FIG. 27.



FIG. 28.

FIG. 29.

FIG. 30

COSTRELS OF VARIOUS DATES. (Brit. Mus.)

Height of Fig. 29, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

FIG. 36.



FIG. 37.



FIG. 38.



FIG. 39.



FIG. 40.



FIG. 42.



FIG. 43.



FIG. 41.



CISTERCIAN WARE, (Brit. Mus.)
Height of Fig. 41, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

in Wales¹ and elsewhere, and it is thought that the Cistercians may have held the secret of making this pottery, which seems to be so distinct from the usual productions of the time, just as at an earlier date they possessed the secret of making a particular kind of tile pavement.² This "Cistercian" ware differs from the black type of the seventeenth century in its superior thinness and hardness of body and the browner tone of its glaze. A number of pieces carefully selected by comparison with the Yorkshire fragments have been exhibited together in the British Museum (Figs. 36-43).

It would be impossible in an article like this to give a complete series illustrating even the common types of form and ornament used by the mediaeval potter. I have selected the few following from the British Museum collection — part because of their general interest and part because it is possible to offer suggestions on the date of their production.

Fig. 31, of buff ware with patches of green glaze, is a type which has been generally considered to be not later than the thirteenth century. A comparison of our documentary pieces would seem to show that the tall slender forms are the earliest, but I have not been able to find any sure evidence of the date of this peculiar double-gourd shape. The nearest approach to it in the illuminated MSS. is in a fourteenth century drawing,³ where, how-

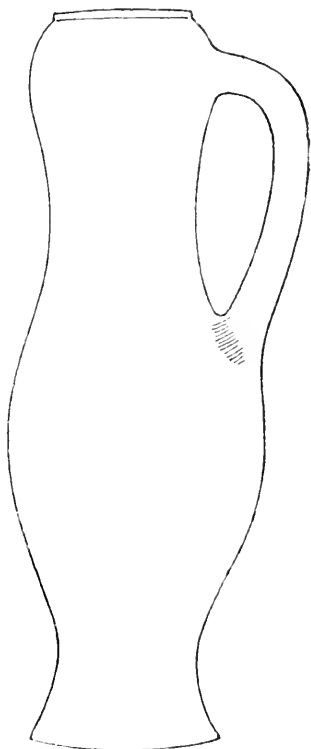


FIG. 31.

Height, 16½ inches.

¹ Valle Crucis Abbey, Llangollen.

³ Brit. Mus., 19,669, 161. See also

² See *Antient Irish Pavement Tiles*, 2 B VII.
by T. Oldham, p. 7 of the introduction.

ever, the form indicated is squatter than the present illustration.

Fig. 32 is of red ware with white slip decoration and traces of green glaze. A similar trellis pattern is noticeable on a pitcher in a MS. drawing of the thirteenth century,¹ which may very well be meant to represent "slip."

Fig. 33 is a green-glazed pitcher of a not uncommon

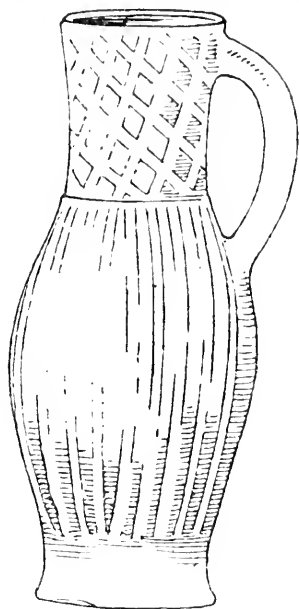


FIG. 32.
Height, $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

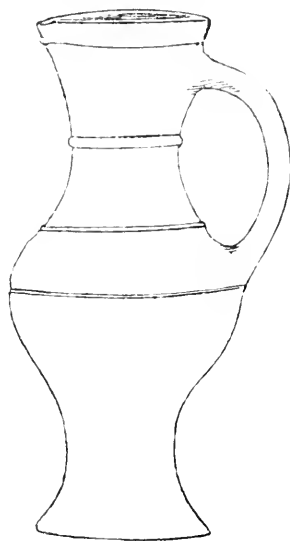


FIG. 33.
Height, $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

form of which I have noted five instances in MSS. of the fourteenth century and one in an MS. of the fifteenth.

Fig. 34 is a watering pot of unglazed red ware with rough scroll ornament in white slip. The bottom is perforated all over, and the flow of water is regulated by pressing the thumb on a small hole at the top. In *Minerva Britannica; or, A garden of Heroical Devices*, published in London in 1612,² a similar pot is engraved

¹ Brit. Mus., I D X.

² This note is largely borrowed from Mr. Gwilt's paper in the *Journal of*

the *Arch. Ass.*, V, 343. See also the Catalogue of the Roach Smith Collections.

with the motto "Plus ne m'est rien." This is stated to have been the badge adopted by Valentia, Duchess of Orleans, when at Blois, to manifest her grief for the death of her husband Louis, brother of King Charles VI., who died in 1407. This account, if we accept it, would take this kind of vessel back to the beginning of the fifteenth century. Watering pots of lead-glazed earthenware with a rose at the end of the spout, as in modern forms, have been found occasionally. They would seem to be of later date, and several specimens that I have seen do not go back further than the sixteenth century if one may judge from their paste and glaze.

We have noticed early instances of jugs ornamented with human masks, the forefathers of the popular Bellarmines of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.¹ The more modern "Toby jug" too might claim descent from mediaeval ancestors, to judge from several more or less complete cups and bottles in the British Museum, in which the human form has been travestied. Fig. 35 is an unusually perfect specimen. It is a drinking cup (to be reversed for use) in the form of a friar with hood, tippet and sack-like cloak, girdle of rope and pendant rosary. He is reading from a book held in his hands. It is made of red ware with details in white clay, with the usual lead glaze, and appears to be of early fifteenth century date.

Figs. 21, 22, 23, 24, a brazier or chafing-dish, a cinquefoil cup, saucer dish and plate (all green glazed) are, as far as one can judge from their material and form, representations of the sixteenth century. The extreme rarity of plates of mediaeval date is scarcely to be wondered at. The brittle nature of the ware would account, on the one hand, for their very limited use, or, on the other, for their almost total disappearance. Trenchers of wood and metal we know were largely used. Numerous other vessels of domestic and kitchen uses such as money boxes,² bird trays, pots like our

¹ The well-known Bellarmines or Greybeards were largely imported from Germany and the Low Countries and not, I believe, made in England till the end of the seventeenth century.

² For an interesting note on earthenware money-boxes, see the Catalogue of the Roach Smith Collections.

saucepans, often with bar-handles and three short legs, flat-bottomed dishes, frying pans, pipkins, porringers and condiment dishes and "many more too long" may be seen in the various public collections. It is very rarely possible to do more than make a guess at their dates. In fact, a large part of our collections must remain in this position of uncertainty until further evidence is forthcoming, though much has been and can still be done by careful comparison with the body, form and ornament of accredited pieces.

Though the discoveries of remains of mediaeval pot-works have been few, they have been sufficiently far between to show how generally the art was practised throughout the country. We have already spoken of the factories at Burley Hill and Lincoln; there is evidence of the existence of others at Tickenhall,¹ (Derbyshire), Horkesley² (Staffordshire), Limpsfield³ (Surrey), Nottingham,⁴ and Bristol.⁵

¹ See Jewitt, II, 151.

⁴ See Jewitt, I, 415.

² See Jewitt, I, 81.

⁵ See H. Owen, *Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol*.

³ See *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, IV, 358.



FIG. 1.—BROOKE, NORFOLK.

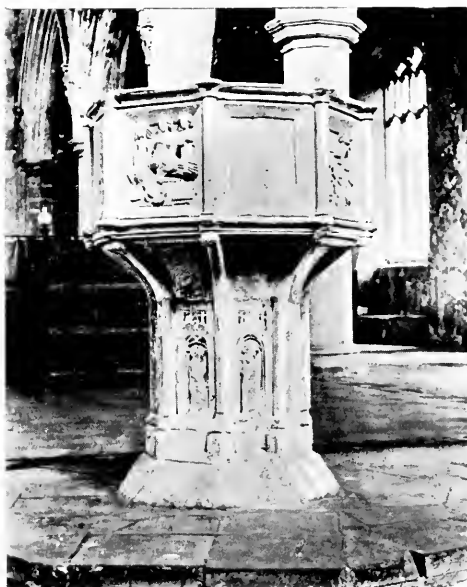


FIG. 2.—CLEY, NORFOLK.

ON FONTS WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

By ALFRED C. FRYER, Ph.D., F.S.A.

The Picture Gallery at Antwerp contains a painting ascribed to Roger van der Weyden. Some critics, however, believe it is the handiwork of Robert Campin. At any rate it was painted between the years 1437 and 1460. The picture represents the interior of a large Gothic church. In the foreground we have the Crucifixion; the dead Christ hangs on the Cross, and the Blessed Virgin Mary falls fainting in the arms of St. John, while the Maries are weeping. "This is the historic event symbolized and commemorated by the various sacraments which derived their power from it."¹ In the chancel of the great church a priest is celebrating the Holy Eucharist and is in the act of elevating the Sacred Host. On the left are the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and penance, and on the right those of holy orders, matrimony, and extreme unction. An angel holding a scroll hovers over the figures engaged in the celebration of a sacrament, and each angel is portrayed in the following symbolical colours. Thus we find the angel of baptism is white; the angel of confirmation, yellow; the angel of the Holy Eucharist, green; penance, scarlet; extreme unction, black; holy orders, purple; and matrimony, blue.

About the date when this beautiful Flemish picture was being painted, a series of baptismal fonts were carved in England and ornamented with sculptures depicting the Seven Sacraments of the Church. All these fonts had octagonal bowls, and the sacraments are represented on seven panels, while the eighth compartment has either the Crucifixion of the Saviour or some other appropriate subject. "It is easy to picture," says the Very Rev. Dr. Husenbeth, "the reason for preferring

¹ See *Early Flemish Artists*, by W. M. Conway.

the subject of the Seven Sacraments for the decoration of fonts in churches. The font was set apart for the administration of baptism, the first of the sacraments, for which reason it was invariably placed near the entrance of the church. As baptism was thus the foundation of the other sacraments, it was appropriate to represent the sacraments on its several compartments."¹

There are at present existing as many as twenty-nine examples of this type of font in England: sixteen are in Norfolk,² eleven in Suffolk,³ one in Kent,⁴ and one in Somersetshire.⁵ Some are badly mutilated, but a few have escaped the hands of the iconoclast. It is a remarkable fact that this type of font is chiefly met with in Norfolk and Suffolk. They were carved at a time when there was much intercourse between these counties and the great Flemish cities. We know that the artists who painted the beautiful rood-screens and parcloes of Norfolk and Suffolk were influenced by Flemish art. May not this type of font have had a similar history?

The church accounts at East Dereham⁶ inform us that their font was erected A.D. 1468 at a cost of £12 18s. 9d.; the font at Walsoken was a gift to that church in the year 1544; and the font at Badingham must have been carved about 1485,⁷ for the panel depicting the sacrament of matrimony shows a man holding in his hand the round turban hat worn at that date.⁸ The fonts at Great Glenham and Woodbridge (Pl. III, 2) portray the ladies in butterfly head-dresses,⁹ so these two fonts were erected about the year 1483. The horned head-dress¹⁰ of the period of Edward IV. is met with on several of the fonts.

¹ See *Jour. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, XIV, 51.

² Binham Abbey, Brooke, Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, Cley, East Dereham, Great Witchingham, Gresham, Little Walsingham, Loddon, Marsham, Martingham, Norwich Cathedral, Sall, Sloley, Walsoken, and West Lynn.

³ Badingham, Blythburgh, Cratfield, Gorleston, Great Glenham, Laxfield, Melton, Southwold, Westhall, Weston, and Woodbridge.

⁴ Farningham.

⁵ Nettlecombe.

⁶ See *Archæologia*, X, 196.

⁷ See "Badingham," by V. B. Redstone, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology*, X, Part 3. This paper also contains an illustration of this font.

⁸ Gardiner's *Hist.*, I, 339.

⁹ See sculpture for the sacraments of the Holy Eucharist, penance, and matrimony.

¹⁰ East Dereham, Farningham, Gorleston, Marsham, Martingham, Nettlecombe, and West Lynn.



FIG. 1.—GREAT WITCHINGHAM, NORFOLK.

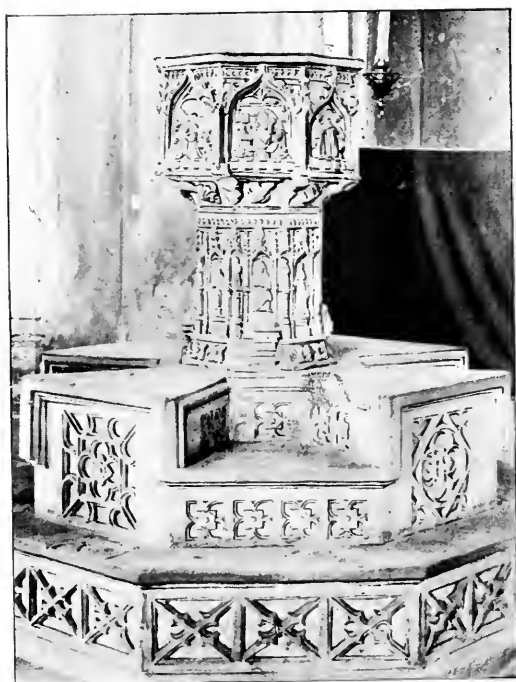


FIG. 2.—LITTLE WALSINGHAM, NORFOLK.

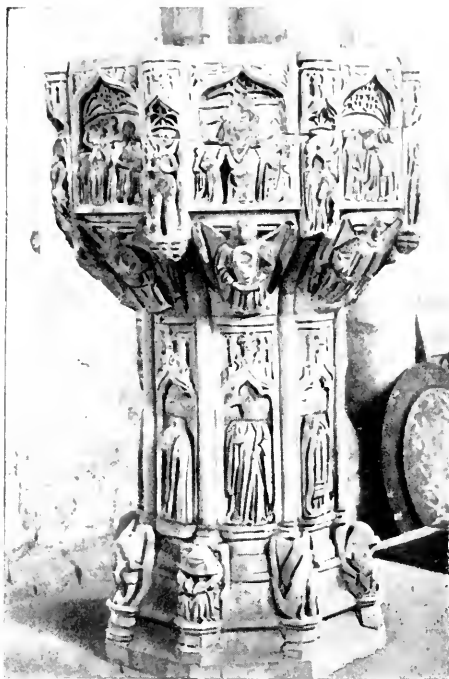


FIG. 1.—NORWICH CATHEDRAL, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—WOODBRIDGE, SUFFOLK.

and consequently we may date them about the year 1467. The architectural details of the Southwold font are so similar to the one at Badingham that we may place it about the year 1485; while the ladies' three-cornered coiffures might perhaps give the period of Henry VII. for the Gresham font. The font at Melton¹ may be dated A.D. 1510 to 1520, for the eighth panel has two soldiers represented upon it, and their armour is evidently of this period.

The steps upon which these fonts stand are in several instances both elaborate and beautiful. At Little Walsingham (Pl. II, 2) the two steps are ornamented on their exterior faces with panels and tracery, and each step is subdivided into two more steps, while the upper surface is formed into a cross. The same pleasing effect, but not quite so elaborate in detail, may be seen at Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, Laxfield,² Loddon, and Weston. At Sall, Melton, Great Glenham, and other places the exterior faces of the steps are carved and decorated, while at Walsoken the two steps support an unusually wide platform which has a striking and noble appearance.

The pedestals are usually adorned with eight statues standing in niches, and the bases are enriched with seated figures of the Evangelists holding books, with alternate representations of their well-known emblems.

The pedestal at Little Walsingham is one of the most elaborate in detail and is ornamented with canopied niches, pinnacles, buttresses, pediments, and statues. Representations of the four Evangelists, the four Living Creatures, and the four Latin Fathers of the Church are on the shaft, while a niche is placed at each corner containing an angel on a tall pedestal. At Brooke (Pl. I, 1) the stem is adorned with eight statues in niches, which represent—St. Thomas the Martyr; St. John³ with a

¹ Melton font is illustrated in *Archæologia*, X, Plate XXVIII. This paper states that there is a seven sacrament font at Grantham, which is a mistake.

² See *Archæologia*, X, where 'Laxfield' is erroneously called 'Laxford.'

³ The Very Rev. Dr. Husenbeth, in a paper printed in the *Jour. Brit. Arch.*

Ass. for 1858, says:—"The angel above him holds what looks like a cup with a palm branch rising out of it, but which from its similarity to an emblem on another font I take it (*sic*) to be meant for a candiestick with a candle. It can hardly be the usual cup and serpent, as the upper part appears to be too straight."

clasped book in one hand and a roll of paper in the other ; St. Edward the Martyr with a cup in his left hand, the emblem in his right is defaced, and it may have been a dagger ; St. Mark¹ with a scroll ; St. Peter with one key ; St. Matthew ; St. Edmund, King and Martyr, holding an arrow and a bunch of cords ; and St. Luke with a scroll, while the angel above him holds a model of the house of the Holy Family at Nazareth.

Besides the above-named saints, statues on some of the pedestals may still be seen representing Sts. Paul, Jude, Simon, James the Great, James the Less, Philip, Giles, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, and St. Michael the archangel, as well as Sts. Mary Magdalen, Catherine, Agnes, and Barbara.

At Great Glenham and Woodbridge² (Pl. III, 2) the pedestals are decorated with four lilies standing in two-handled jars. The church at Woodbridge is dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, and consequently the emblem is specially appropriate.

The base of the font at Laxfield has four grotesque animals carved upon it.

It has already been mentioned that all the bowls of this type of font are octagonal, and seven of the compartments are filled with sculptures representing the Seven Sacraments, while the eighth panel has the Crucifixion, the baptism of Christ, or some other suitable subject.

At Badingham, Laxfield, and Southwold the sculptures have been placed under canopies, and the angles between the panels have ended in pendants. We find that the angles at Cratfield,³ East Dereham, and Norwich Cathedral (Pl. III, 1) have statues on pedestals placed under canopies. On the beautiful font in Norwich Cathedral, which stood in the church of St. Mary in the Marsh before it was demolished, are eight of the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy. Between the panels representing penance and confirmation is an archangel with a sun or star on his breast ; the next three are too much defaced to make out ; between the Crucifixion and extreme unction an

¹ An angel above holds a round dish, and in 1858 the Very Rev. Dr. Husenbeth was of opinion that the fragment left upon it was the head of St. John the Baptist.

² *Arch. Jour.*, LVI, 392.

³ Cratfield font is illustrated in Suckling's *History of Suffolk*.



FIG. 1.—NETTLECOMBE, SOMERSET.



FIG. 2.—BAPTISM.
GREAT WITCHINGHAM, NORFOLK.

angel is scourging a devil held in a chain, which represents the angelic order of the powers; an angel comes next with a thurible to represent the Cherubim; and lastly one holding organ pipes, for the order of angels. The same arrangement may have existed at East Dereham, but the angels have been hopelessly mutilated, and only vestiges of their wings remain.

The chanfer at Melton is a beautiful specimen of foliage work in excellent preservation. Most of the bowls, however, are supported with angels having outspread wings. Some carry blank shields and plain scrolls, but occasionally they bear emblems. At Brooke these emblems appear to refer to the statues on the pedestal, but at Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, Norwich Cathedral, and Sall the emblems indicate the sacraments depicted above. At Sall the emblem for *baptism* is a casket for the holy oil; *confirmation*, a mitre; *Holy Eucharist*, an altar stone; *penance*, a rod; *extreme unction*, a soul represented by a little figure rising up from a corpse-cloth; *holy orders*, a chalice; *matrimony*, a guitar; *the Crucifixion* (the eighth panel), an angel in the attitude of adoration.

Under each panel on the font at Great Witchingham (Pl. II, 1) an angel is placed alternately with one of the Living Creatures. The angels hold the names of the Latin Doctors of the Church, and the Living Creatures the names of the four Evangelists. At each angle and in a line with the angels and Living Creatures are busts of crowned kings in ermine robes.

Many of the fonts were richly painted, and at Badingham, East Dereham, Nettlecombe, West Lynn, and other places traces of colour still remain; but at Great Witchingham and Westhall the gilding is still brilliant and the red, blue, green, and black paint is quite fresh.

The fonts at Norwich Cathedral (Pl. III, 1) and Little Walsingham¹ (Pl. II, 2) are the most elaborate and are very beautiful works of art even in their mutilated condition. However, the fonts at Gresham and Sloley are the

¹ The font at Little Walsingham is illustrated in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. IV; also in *Early*

Fonts of England (No. 1), by G. R. Lewis. There is a cast of this font in the Crystal Palace.

most perfect and have suffered very little at the hands of the iconoclasts. All the others have been more or less injured. At Blythburgh William Dowsing performed his work so thoroughly that not a vestige of carving remains on the bowl, while at Southwold¹ only traces of the positions once occupied by the sculptures can be discerned. Gorleston font suffered severely about the same date (A.D. 1643) at the hands of one Francis Jessup,² who in his *Journal* remarks, "We did deface the font and a cross thereon." He actually cut away every trace of carving upon the chamfer. The sculpture at Loddon has been so defaced that we can scarcely make out the number of figures that once existed in each of the panels. In the churchwarden's books for A.D. 1642 is the name of the barbarian employed to deface this font and the price of his labours:—

	s.	d.
Laide ont to Rochester, the glaser, defasinge		
of the images of the church	6	0
Thomas Randandall for writinge Covenant	1	0
	<hr/>	
	7	0

The proper order of the sacraments is:—Baptism, confirmation, Holy Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony. It is curious, however, to observe that this order is rarely followed, and what is more, the same arrangement is scarcely ever carried out on any two fonts. So that we are led to the conclusion that the artists who designed the sculptures placed them where they thought good. In some cases holy orders and confirmation are on opposite sides, each requiring the introduction of a bishop.³ In other cases the sacraments of baptism and extreme unction are placed

¹ William Dowsing was appointed by the Earl of Manchester as "Visitor of the Suffolk Churches" December, 1643, for the purpose of destroying and demolishing altars, candlesticks, pictures, and images. His *Diary* contains most interesting particulars as to the way in which he carried out this mission. The following entry in his *Diary* relates to Southwold:—"April 8th. We brake down one hundred and thirty superstitious pictures, St. Andrew, and four

crosses on the four corners of the vestry; and gave orders to take down thirteen cherubims, and to take down twenty angels, and to take down the cover of the font."

² It is interesting to note that Francis Jessup laments in his *Journal* that he could not destroy the stained glass in the upper windows, as no one in Gorleston would lend him a ladder.

³ This arrangement is found at Loddon.



FIG. 1.—BAPTISM.
GRESHAM, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—BAPTISM.
SLOLEY, NORFOLK.



FIG. 1.—CONFIRMATION.
GREAT WITCHINGHAM, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—CONFIRMATION.
EAST DEREHAM, NORFOLK.

on opposite sides, as if to indicate that they were respectively the first and last received.¹ The panel for the Holy Eucharist is appropriately placed in many cases on the east face of the font, nearest to the altars in the church,² but, as the Very Rev. Dr. Husenbeth remarked, "we are hardly warranted in attributing even these arrangements to any regular design or purpose."³ There is also no fixed rule for the place of the eighth panel; however, in several examples it is found facing west, which appears to have been the situation most preferred.

Baptism.

The mode of representing the administration of the sacrament of baptism does not admit of great variation. The priest, vested in surplice and stole, is depicted in the act of immersing a nude infant in an octagonal font. Two acolytes, in long surplices, carry the open book of the ritual and the chrismatory. Frequently a woman is shown with the chrism-cloth⁴ and other figures are introduced.

At Woodbridge the font depicted in the sculpture is hexagonal, and both here and at Great Glenham the priest is portrayed as reciting the office while a god-mother holds the child. At Sloley (Pl. V, 2) the priest is only vested in a surplice, at Farningham and West Lynn his stole is crossed on his breast, and at Great Witchingham it is coloured red. At Brooke the remains of the words "*baptizo te in nomine Patris*" are still visible on the open book of the ritual.

Confirmation.

The bishop is usually depicted in these fifteenth century fonts as vested in a long rochet and tippet, when giving confirmation. The Synod of Exeter,

¹ For examples see Binham Abbey, Brooke, Loddon, Great Witchingham, etc.

² See Brooke Loddon Marsham, etc.

³ "Sacramental Fonts in Norfolk," *Jour. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, XIV, 51.

⁴ The chrism-cloth is well depicted at Little Walsingham, Marsham, and Nettlecombe.

A.D. 1287, decreed "that children receive the sacrament of confirmation within three years of their birth, if they have the opportunity of being brought to their own or some other bishop; otherwise their parents shall fast on bread and water every Friday until they are confirmed." Hence in this panel we find infants presented to the bishop, and the child is held by the godfather or the godmother according as it is a boy or a girl. The bishop used sometimes to give confirmation on horseback as he passed through a village. St. Hugh of Lincoln,¹ we are told, however, dismounted with great reverence as if he had been in his cathedral. Other bishops do not seem to have been so particular.

At Sloley (Pl. VII, 1) the bishop is only vested in his long rochet, and he holds an open book in one hand, while he is confirming a child with the other. At West Lynn he is depicted in rochet and mitre, and at Great Glenham in cope and mitre; but at Farningham, Nettlecombe, Walsoken, and Woodbridge he is vested in alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre, and he holds his pastoral staff in his left hand. At Westhall he is shown robed in an appparelled alb, stole crossed over his breast, and a cope of cloth of gold lined with a green material. The attendant priest in this sculpture is vested in surplice and cope and holds a golden casket containing the holy oil.²

It is interesting to note the various alterations which the sculptor has been obliged to make use of when the order of ritual prescribed by the Pontifical does not permit him to delineate the position of the attendants. For example, the infant at confirmation should be held on the right arm, as seen on the Great Witchingham (Pl. VI, 1), East Dereham (Pl. VI, 2), and other fonts; but

¹ The following extract illustrates infant confirmation and is taken from Thurston's *Life of St. Hugh*, p. 197:—"I once saw myself a little infant of six months old, whom the bishop had just confirmed, manifest such joy in his presence, that he might have been taken for another St. John the Baptist—leaping with gladness. He laughed with such real enjoyment and evident intention, that all were astonished to hear such sounds from the little mouth,

which had hitherto only uttered the wailing cries of babyhood. He stretched out his little arms, as though he would fly to heaven," etc.

² The servitor on the panel at Marsham is not vested in serving garments, and the vessel he holds is more like the one used for pouring water at baptism than the usual casket for the chrism-oil. It resembles a large round flask and is unlike the receptacle depicted at Westhall and other places.



FIG. 1.—CONFIRMATION.
SLOLEY, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST.
BROOKE, NORFOLK.



FIG. 1.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST.
GREAT WITCHINGHAM, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST.
GREAT GLENHAM, SUFFOLK.

on the panel for confirmation at Marsham and some other representations of this sacrament the babe is on the left arm. The sculptor evidently studied the convenience of the positions occupied by the figures he introduced into his sculpture as much as the ritual arrangement.

The Holy Eucharist.

In this panel the celebration of the Holy Eucharist is represented, and the sculptor has usually depicted the moment when the priest, standing before the altar, is elevating either the chalice or the Sacred Host. As an example we may take the panel at Brooke (Pl. VII, 2). Here we find a priest, vested in greenish alb, with gold apparels, and a red chasuble with gold orphrey, standing before the altar in the act of elevating the chalice. On his right an acolyte, kneeling, pulls the rope of a sanctus bell¹ with one hand and holds the priest's chasuble with the other. Another acolyte on the left holds the chasuble with one hand and extends the other in adoration.

In the early Church there was no elevation as is understood at the present time, nor was there in our Anglo-Saxon ritual. In the chapels in the Catacombs and in early Christian basilicas curtains were hung before the altar, which were drawn during the recital of the Canon of the Mass and drawn back at its completion. These curtains are frequently shown knotted round the pillars of the baldachins in some of the early wall-paintings and mosaics. Mr. Edmund Bishop and other liturgiologists believe that the elevation of the Host, properly so called, was introduced in the twelfth century for the purpose of adoration, and also as a protest against the teaching of Berengarius. It would appear that the practice did not spread rapidly, and the elevation of the chalice came in at a later date. At St. Alban's Abbey, for example, the chalice was not elevated until 1429, and the Carthusian monks, even at the present day, only make a slight elevation of the chalice, which is partly covered with the corporal. In

¹ Or holds a torch.

the sculptures representing the celebration of the Holy Eucharist on these fifteenth century fonts examples of the elevation of the chalice as well as of the Host are met with.

At Farningham the priest is shown as genuflecting immediately after the consecration, holding the Sacred Host in his hand, before the act of elevation. A kneeling acolyte holds the priest's chasuble in one hand and a tall torch in the other. The chalice stands upon the altar.

At Little Walsingham and Westhall the celebrant appears to wear a dalmatic as well as an alb and a chasuble, and is no doubt either a bishop or an abbot; while at Great Glenham (Pl. VIII, 2) and Woodbridge he is only vested in alb and crossed stole. At Brooke, Cley, and Marsham we find the sacring bell is introduced, and it is rung by means of a rope; while at Gorleston the heads of two cherubs, in frills, are inserted in the two upper corners of the panel.

The missal is usually placed on the altar, and in one instance it appears to rest on a cushion. Four of the sculptures¹ are too mutilated for study, but in the remaining twenty-four representations of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist fifteen² possess no candlesticks upon the altars or acolytes holding lighted torches. Candlesticks are found upon only four altars³; and tall flaming torches held by acolytes are depicted in six of the sculptures.⁴

At Sloley the priest is turning round to say the *Orate fratres* before he says the *Secreta* of the mass, the missal being on the Gospel side of the altar. Two servers, one with a torch, stand on a step behind the altar. There are two kneeling figures before the altar. The arrangement at East Dereham is very interesting. The crucifix, candles, etc. are removed so as to give a full view of the priest, with the chalice on the altar in front of

¹ Blythburgh, Cratfield, Loddon, and Southwold.

² Binham Abbey, Brooke, Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, East Dereham, Great Glenham, Gorleston, Laxfield, Melton, Marsham, Martham, Norwich Cathedral, Sall, Westhall, Weston, and Woodbridge.

³ Badingham, Gresham, Little Walsingham, and Walsoken.

⁴ Cley, Farningham, Great Witchingham, Nettlecombe, Sloley, and West Lynn.



FIG. 1.—PENANCE.
GREAT GLENHAM, SUFFOLK.



FIG. 2—PENANCE.
NETTLECOMBE, SOMERSET.

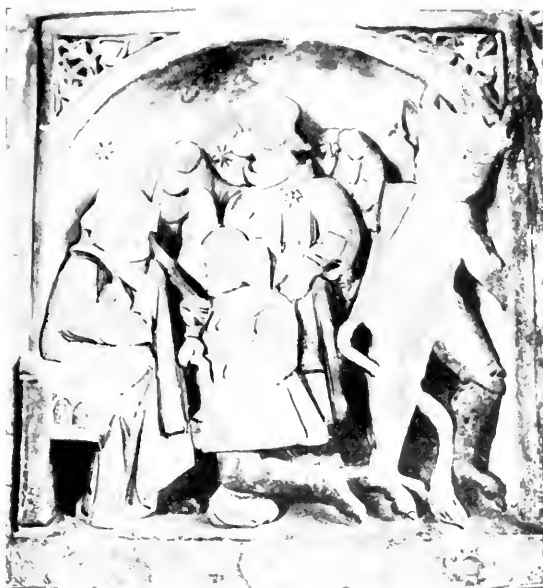


FIG. 1.—PENANCE.
WESTHALL, SUFFOLK.



FIG. 2.—EXTREME UNCTION.
EAST DEREHAM, NORFOLK.

him, apparently a little before the Consecration. The priest's hair gives him the appearance of having a nimbus, and a deacon and sub-deacon stand on either side of him. There are two kneeling figures at each end of the altar. We find the south end of the altar portrayed at Nettlecombe and West Lynn, and in both instances the chalice is placed upon the altar and covered by a veil; while at Great Witchingham (Pl. VIII, 1) we see the north end of the altar, which is overshadowed by a canopy. At Great Glenham and Woodbridge the priest has left the chalice on the altar and has turned towards a man and a woman in order to communicate them. In both instances the priest is simply vested in alb and crossed stole, while the communicants hold a houseling-cloth before them. In these two panels the ladies are represented as wearing the butterfly head-dress; so these sculptures may have been executed about the year 1483, when this head-dress was in fashion and betokened a lady of rank.

Penance.

The sacrament of penance is depicted by a priest seated in a chair shriving a kneeling penitent, who is presented by an angel with wings spread widely over both confessor and penitent. The evil spirit, with horned head and dragon wings, is departing with his tail between his legs, cast down and confounded.

The designs on these panels are in many cases extremely beautiful and well preserved. At Great Witchingham the priest is seated in a chair with railed sides, the penitent kneels at a low desk before him, resting her hands on a green cushion laid upon it. An angel presents the penitent, and his spreading wings are over her and partly over the priest. The evil spirit, coloured dark brown, with horns and a tail, is departing through a small doorway.

In twelve sculptures an angel¹ is introduced, and he is

¹ Binham Abbey, Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, East Dereham, Farningham, Great Witchingham, Gorleston, Little

Walsingham, Loddon, Marsham, Martingham, Sloley, and Westhall.

either presenting the penitent, as at Martham, or he is thrusting the evil spirit away, as at Sloley. The evil spirit is portrayed in fifteen panels¹ representing this sacrament, and frequently with a sly touch of humour. At Martham and Walsoken he stands on the head of the penitent and is about to take his departure the moment the penitent receives absolution; at Woodbridge an ecclesiastic, in a red robe, prevents him approaching a woman who is in the confessional; at Westhall (Pl. X, 1) he is slinking away with his tail between his legs; and at Great Glenham (Pl. IX, 1) he has sprung on the back of a man and is preventing him going to confession. When the plaster was removed from the font at Gresham the evil spirit is said to have presented so horrible an appearance that it was thought desirable to remove him from the sculpture.

The priest is seated either on an elaborately carved chair, as is depicted in Norwich Cathedral, or on a low bench, as at Nettlecombe (Pl. IX, 2). His head is uncovered in all instances, except at Great Glenham, West Lynn, and Woodbridge, where we find him wearing a hood.

We see the penitent at Gresham undergoing the punishment of flagellation, and at Nettlecombe one of the kneeling penitents holds a scourge in his hand.

The confessional at Sall is represented in a church with three arcades; at Great Glenham and Woodbridge in a panelled pew; while at Marsham and Martham the confessional is a small chapel with a steep roof and a window in the gable. Little Walsingham shows the confessional as a portion of the church partitioned off by a curtain hung on rods. Above the curtain three figures are looking over. It is quite possible that the sculptor did not intend them to assume this most inquisitive attitude, and that their appearance merely represented some ceremony being performed in the church, as all three appear to be vested in surplices, and one is a priest in a stole, while another holds an open book.

¹ Binham Abbey, Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, East Dereham, Farningham, Great Glenham, Great Witchingham,

Gresham, Little Walsingham, Loddon, Marsham, Martham, Sloley, Walsoken, Westhall, and Woodbridge.



FIG. 1.—EXTREME UNCTION.
GREAT WITCHINGHAM, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—EXTREME UNCTION.
WEST LYNN, NORFOLK.



FIG. 1.—EXTREME UNCTION.
GREAT GLENHAM, SUFFOLK.



FIG. 2.—EXTREME UNCTION.
NETTLECOMBE, SOMERSET.

Extreme Unction.

The sacrament of extreme unction is administered by the priest to the dying person, by dipping his thumb in the holy oil, and anointing the sick person in the form of a cross, upon the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, feet, etc.¹; and at each anointing using the appointed prayer.² In these sculptures the priest is vested in cassock, surplice, and stole, and he is usually attended by two acolytes. One holds the open book of the ritual, and the other carries the casket containing the holy oil, which forms the "matter" of this sacrament and is always blessed by the bishop on Maundy Thursday. In the Western Church there were three ceremonial oils blessed on Maundy Thursday, the oil for the catechumens, the oil for the sick, and the chrism or scented unguent for baptism, confirmation, ordaining of priests, and consecration of bishops. The first two of these were of pure oil of olives, but the third was a compound of oil and balm.³ Subsequently various aromatic spices were mingled in the composition.

The sculpture at Gresham shows the dying man in his bed, propped up with pillows. The priest is anointing him with his right hand, and his left hand is laid on the open manual held by an acolyte. A woman kneels at the foot of the bed, and two men and a woman stand behind. A circular object is placed on the bed, which is doubtless the dish on which four lumps of cotton wool are placed in the form of a cross, with which the priest wipes the places he has anointed. In the Sarum ritual and other pre-Reformation rituals it is ordered that after the unction the priest shall wash his hands in the vessel ("*vase*") in which the wool has been placed. The wool has to be burned, or buried in the churchyard.

At Nettlecombe (Pl. XII, 2) the priest is seated on a low bench and is anointing a dying man on his ear. An acolyte, vested in cassock and surplice, stands behind the priest and holds the open manual. The open casket is laid

¹ The old York Ritual ordered the heart to be anointed. See Maskell, *Mon. Ritualia*.

² See Sarum ritual and other pre-Reformation rituals.

³ Balm was brought from the Holy Land as early as the sixth century.

on a three-legged stool, and there are three other persons present, one being a woman, who is seated on a three-legged stool near the head of the bed.

The ingenuity of the sculptor has frequently been taxed to no small extent in arranging the details for this panel. At Gorleston¹ and other places² the dying man has a bed placed at such an angle that the wonder is he is not precipitated out of it, and at Cley we find the priest apparently floating in the air in a horizontal position and parallel to the bed of the sick man.

The coverlet is frequently turned down, and at Marsham the feet of the dying man are exposed ready for the anointing. At Badingham and Melton we notice that the sick man's shoes are placed under his bed.

Holy Orders.

The sacrament of holy orders is portrayed by the ordination of either a deacon or a priest. The bishop, vested in alb, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre, holding his crozier in his left hand, lays his right hand on the head of the kneeling candidate. If a sub-deacon is being ordained a deacon he is vested in a dalmatic, but if a deacon is being raised to the priesthood he is robed in a chasuble. Several ecclesiastics accompany the bishop; one holds the open book, another the chrismatory, and another is doubtless intended to represent the archdeacon, whose duty it was to present the candidates for ordination.

At Brooke this sacrament is depicted by a bishop vested in tunicle, dalmatic, and cope, wearing his mitre, and holding his crozier in his left hand, while he lays his right hand on the head of the deacon whom he ordains priest, and who wears an alb and red chasuble. A sub-deacon vested in a dalmatic kneels on the left, and he is to be ordained deacon. Two ecclesiastics stand in the background. One is vested in alb and almuce, and he is probably the archdeacon.

At Nettlecombe (Pl. XIII, 2) the bishop is ordaining a

¹ At Gorleston the bed is placed at right angles to the floor of the room.

² Cley, Great Glenham, Marsham and Woodbridge.

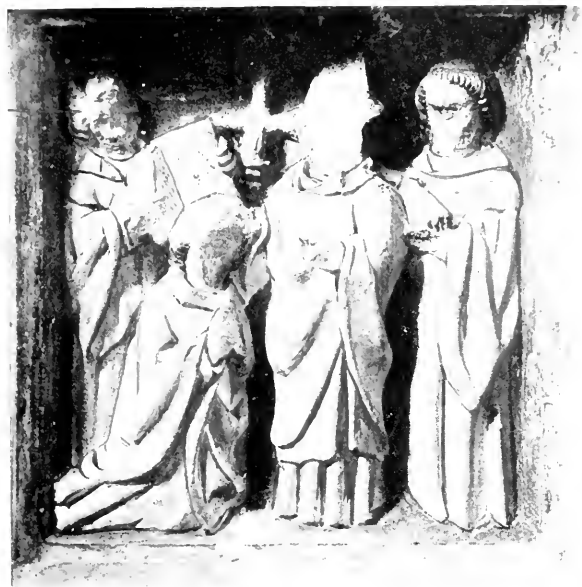


FIG. 1.—HOLY ORDERS.
GREAT WITCHINGHAM, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—HOLY ORDERS.
NETTLECOMBE, SOMERSET.



FIG. 1.—HOLY ORDERS.
WEST LYNN, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—HOLY MATRIMONY.
FARNINGHAM, KENT.

candidate, and in the same panel a barber, dressed in a short tunic, hosen, boots, and round turban hat, is shaving a tonsure on the head of a figure seated on a low bench.

At Farningham we find the compartment which ought to represent holy orders filled in with the sculpture of a bishop or archbishop, vested in alb, chasuble, and mitre, and holding a cross¹ in his left hand. He has either placed his right hand on the head of a priest standing near him, or else is raising his hand in the act of blessing, and in that case the figure near him is not a candidate for holy orders, but an assistant priest. The sculpture on the font at Farningham is more archaic than any other representation in this series. In two of the panels the kneeling figures which are introduced show that the sculptor had a great difficulty in carving them. It has been suggested by the Rev. H. B. Pim that this may be the reason why the candidate is standing and not kneeling.

The sculpture at Gresham depicts a clerk standing behind the bishop, who is ordaining candidates for the sacred ministry. This clerk holds a thurible in his hand, and it is the only use of incense that has been noticed on any of the sculptures representing the Seven Sacraments.

In one or two instances the bishop is vested in a long rochet and mitre and accompanied by an ecclesiastic robed in alb and almuce. At Westhall we find him robed in an appparelled alb and a cloth-of-gold cope lined with a red material.

Matrimony.

The sacrament of matrimony is usually depicted at that crucial point in the ceremony when the priest is joining the hands of the couple, or when the bridegroom finally leaves the ring on the third finger of the bride. The priest is vested in alb and stole, and his acolyte, in a long surplice, holds open the book of the ritual.

¹ At Great Witchingham we also find that the bishop, or perhaps the archbishop, is represented with a cross.

In ten instances¹ the priest's stole is crossed, and at Great Witchingham we find it is not only crossed, but it is coloured green. At Badingham, Gresham, and West Lynn the priest is vested in alb, stole, and cope, while at Weston a bishop in alb, cope, and mitre performs the ceremony. It is not unlikely that this panel may portray a historical scene,² and perhaps represents the marriage of the donor of the font. A bishop or an abbot is joining the hands of a couple at Little Walsingham, and he is vested in a cope over a dalmatic; a central orphrey is seen at the opening of the cope, the same exactly as in the case of the bishop in the ordination panel.

The bride's head is uncovered at Sloley (Pl. XV, 2) and Weston; at Farningham (Pl. XIV, 2) the bridegroom has not removed his hat; while at Badingham (Pl. XVI, 1) he holds in his hand the round turban cap, showing that this sculpture was executed about the year 1485.³

At Brooke we see a woman standing behind the bride, holding on her arm a red veil, probably intended for the care-cloth, which was held over the newly married pair from the *Sanctus* in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist until the conclusion of the nuptial benediction after the *Pater noster*.

The priest, acolyte, and bridegroom occupy the usual positions in the sculpture portraying matrimony on the font at Woodbridge, but the bride has been removed, and only her hand and the top of her butterfly head-dress remain. At the back of the panel are a number of radiating lines, and as these are carved where the figure of the bride has been, it would therefore appear that the rays were made first and the figure placed in

¹ Binham Abbey, Great Witchingham, Gresham, Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, Marsham, Martham, Norwich Cathedral, Sloley, Melton, and West-hall.

² In Buckland Church, Gloucestershire, the glass is evidently of the time of Edward IV., and three lights represent confirmation, marriage, and extreme unction, and in each light the officiating minister is a bishop. It is unlikely that a bishop would marry a couple unless the scene were historic and the

figures were portraits. It has been conjectured that these windows were the gift of the Rector, William Grafton (1466-1510), and represent the marriage of his parents, his baptism, and the death of his mother. See Lysons's *Gloucestershire Antiquities*, Plate XXXIX. It therefore seems more than probable that the panel for matrimony at Weston depicts the marriage of the donor of the font or of his parents.

³ Gardiner's *Hist.*, I, 339.



FIG. 1.—HOLY MATRIMONY.
EAST DEREHAM, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—HOLY MATRIMONY.
SLOLEY, NORFOLK.



FIG. 1.— HOLY MATRIMONY.
BADINGHAM, SUFFOLK.



FIG. 2.—ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI (?); or, THE DONOR OF THE FONT (?).
BURGH-NEXT-TO-AYLESHAM, NORFOLK.

position afterwards with cement. It would seem that the sculptor has depicted the moment when the bridegroom places the ring on the thumb, fore-finger, middle finger, and finally leaves it on the third finger of the bride, saying the words, "With this ring I thee wed, etc. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." He would hold her hand with his left hand, and have the ring in his right. It used to be put on the bride's right hand until the sixteenth century. The acolyte seems to have partially closed the book, because the priest would say the words for the bridegroom to repeat in English.¹

One of the figures on the panel at Westhall depicts a man dressed in a tunic, with a green *gypeièrre*, or purse, fastened to his girdle. At Badingham the bridegroom appears in a long gown with wide open sleeves, under which can be seen his tight-fitting doublet.

After examining the various panels depicting the Seven Sacraments, it is interesting to note how the sculptors, in nearly all cases, have seized upon the most striking features in each ceremonial and have carefully portrayed them. In most cases they have shown considerable ability in their treatment of these subjects, for the size of the panels limited them to the introduction of comparatively few figures.

In Eastern art the superiority of certain figures is frequently shown by their increased stature over those around them. In the same manner some of the sculptors have introduced a similar method in their carvings upon these fifteenth century fonts; and a striking example may be seen in the stature of the priest in the panel depicting matrimony on the Sloley font (Pl. XV, 2). In fact the height of this ecclesiastic is such that the laity around him become so diminutive that it would appear that he is uniting the hands of a boy and a girl instead of a man and a woman.

¹ The late Right Rev. Bishop Brownlow, D.D., has kindly helped me in the study of this panel, and other diffi-

culties connected with the ceremonial used in the fifteenth century.

The Eighth Panel.

The eighth compartment was frequently filled in with a representation of our Saviour on the Cross,¹ but in seven instances² we find the Baptism of Christ by St. John the Baptist. This subject is specially appropriate, and it is remarkable that the institution of the Holy Eucharist is in no case represented. At Gresham (Pl. XVII, 2) our Lord stands in the river Jordan up to His knees in the stream, while St. John the Baptist kneels upon a rock and is depicted in the act of pouring water out of a large jug upon the head of Christ. On the opposite bank of the river a figure stands holding our Lord's clothes,³ while in the upper part of the panel we see the First Person of the Holy Trinity and also the Holy Spirit descending in the form of a dove.

At Gorleston, Marsham (Pl. XVIII, 1), and Martham the eighth panel represents the Last Judgment, where men must render an account for their good and evil reception of the sacraments. At Martham our Lord is seated on a throne, an archangel blowing a trumpet on either side, their crowns surmounted by crosses, and at His feet the dead are rising from their tombs. At Marsham the same subject is depicted, and there are figures on either side of our Lord which may be intended for the Blessed Virgin and St. Peter. The panel at Gorleston has been sadly mutilated. Our Lord, who is represented with a wound in His side, is seated on a rainbow, and two angels are assisting the dead to rise. The front of the panel has been sadly mutilated and the coffins quite defaced. Owing to this destruction of the sculpture previous writers have fallen into some error in describing this panel. This compartment is given in a full-page coloured plate in Suckling's *History of Suffolk*,⁴ and in the letter-press is the following description:—"The

¹ The Crucifixion is depicted at Brooke, Cratfield, East Dereham, Great Glenham, Little Walsingham, Norwich Cathedral, Sall, Walsoken, and Woodbridge. The Blessed Virgin and St. John usually stand on either side of the Cross, but other figures are occasionally introduced.

Badingham, Binham Abbey, Gres-

ham, Laxfield, Soley, Westhall, and Weston. The church at Badingham is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, so this subject on the eighth panel of the font is specially appropriate.

³ At Gresham this figure has no wings, but in several instances he is represented as being an angel.

⁴ Vol. I, p. 375.

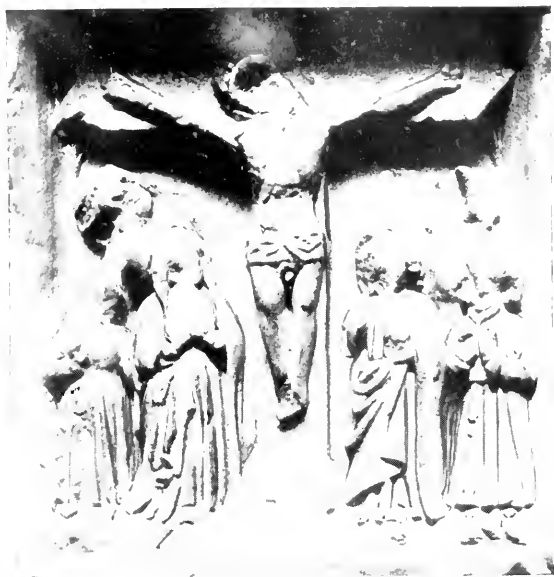


FIG. 1.—THE CRUCIFIXION.
EAST DEREHAM, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—THE BAPTISM OF OUR LORD.
GRESHAM, NORFOLK.



FIG. 1.—THE LAST JUDGMENT.
MARSHAM, NORFOLK.



FIG. 2.—THE HOLY TRINITY.
WEST LYNN, NORFOLK.

Judge of all mankind seated on a rainbow and surrounded by cherubim is calling on the dead to rise. On the lower panel are seen figures emerging from the water and hiding behind the hills; fulfilling the sublime declaration that 'the sea shall give up the dead and the wicked shall call on the mountains and the rocks to cover them.'" The legend above is decayed and rather obscure and is doubtless the words of St. Jerome, "*Surgite mortui venite ad judicium.*"

At Blythburgh, Cley, and Southwold this panel is completely defaced, or perhaps in the case of Cley it has never been executed. At Great Witchingham we see the Blessed Virgin in all the glory of her Assumption, and at Loddon she is represented with the Holy Child. The martyrdom of St. Andrew is depicted on the eighth panel at Melton¹ with a soldier standing on either side of the crucified saint. At Burgh-next-to-Aylesham² (Pl. XVI, 2) St. Francis of Assisi is kneeling before a crucifix, and at Farningham the subject is the communion of the people. A priest is shown holding in one hand a paten with three consecrated wafers upon it, while with the other he is in the act of communicating a man who is kneeling before him. An acolyte holds a tall torch, and there is a second communicant.

At West Lynn (Pl. XVIII, 2) we find a representation of the Holy Trinity. God the Father is seated on a throne and holds the figure of the crucified Christ. It is much mutilated, and it is difficult to know if the Holy Spirit was ever depicted upon it in the form of a dove. At Nettlecombe we have our Lord in glory, with the Blessed Virgin on His right hand and St. John the Baptist on His left, with the symbol of the *Agnus Dei* at His feet.

¹ The old church at Melton was dedicated to St. Andrew; the font is placed in the modern church. An illustration of this font will be found in *Archæologia*, Vol. X.

² The Very Rev. Dr. Husenbeth was

of opinion that this figure represented St. Francis of Assisi (see *Jour. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1858). It has been suggested by the Rev. H. B. Pim that the representation may depict the donor of the font in the attitude of prayer.

APPENDIX.

FONTS WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

TABLE No. I.—PEDESTAL AND BASE.

		Height of pedestal and base.	Number of steps.	REMARKS.	
		Ins.	No.		
KENT.	Farningham, Sts. Peter and Paul.	25	1	The font stands on a low plinth (31 inches \times 7 inches). The base is ornamented with 8 quatrefoils (6 inches \times 6 inches). The pedestal is octagonal and quite plain.	
NORFOLK.	Binham Abbey	26	1	Each face of octagonal step = 25 inches \times 10 inches and is adorned with quatrefoils and niches. The pedestal has eight 7-inch statues standing in niches, believed to represent eight of the apostles.	
	Brooke, St. Peter	22	2	The font stands on two octagonal steps. The pedestal is adorned with eight statues in niches—(1) St. Thomas the Martyr (?); (2) St. John with clasped book and a roll of paper; (3) St. Edward the Martyr holding a cup and perhaps a dagger which is now defaced; (4) St. Mark with a scroll; (5) St. Peter holding one key; (6) St. Matthew; (7) St. Edmund, king and martyr, holding an arrow and a bunch of cords; (8) St. Luke with a scroll, and an angel above holding a model of the House of the Holy Family at Nazareth. (Pl. I, 1.)	

Burgh next-to-Aylesham, St. Mary.	24	2	The upper step is formed into a cross, and the lower is an octagon. The pedestal is ornamented with two plain shields, two rosettes, and the four Evangelists, while the base has the four Living Creatures.
Cloy, St. Margaret	23	1	Each face of the octagonal step = 27 inches x 11 inches, and two faces are adorned with quatrefoils and niches. The pedestal is ornamented with eight niches containing mutilated statues, 7 inches in height. (Pl. I, 2.)
East Dereham, St. Nicholas	39	3	The stem has eight 13-inch figures standing on tall pedestals. They represent St. Jude, St. Simon, St. Philip, and other saints. Seated figures of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John with their emblems adorn the base. The steps are ornamented with quatrefoils and niches.
Great Witchingham, St. Mary.	30	—	The pedestal is adorned with statues representing (1) St. James the Great; (2) St. Thomas the Martyr; (3) St. Peter; (4) St. Catherine; (5) St. Agnes (or St. Barbara); (6) St. Mary Magdalen; another (7) without an emblem; and (8) a crucifixion—probably intended for the martyrdom of St. Andrew. The statues are 10 inches in height. (Pl. II, 1.)
Gresham, All Saints	24	1	Panelled pedestal standing on one step.
Little Walsingham, St. Mary and All Saints.	24	4	The two steps are ornamented on the exterior faces with panels and tracery, and each is again subdivided with two more steps and the upper surface formed into a cross. From the centre springs the shaft adorned with canopied niches, pinnacles, buttresses, pediments, and statues. The pedestal is adorned with the four Evangelists, their emblems, and the four Latin Fathers of the Church, while a niche is placed at each angle containing an angel on a tall pedestal. (Pl. II, 2.)
Loddon, Holy Trinity	25½	3	The lower step is octagonal, and the upper step is subdivided so as to form a cross. The steps are adorned with tracery. The pedestal has sixteen mutilated figures.
Marsham, All Saints	26	1	The pedestal is adorned with seated figures of the four Evangelists and the four Living Creatures.
Martham, St. Mary	25	1	The font stands on plain octagonal step and low octagonal plinth. The pedestal has eight mutilated figures standing in niches.
Norwich Cathedral, St. Luke's Chapel.	29	1	Pedestal adorned with 10-inch figures standing in niches, representing St. Giles, St. Leonard, St. Thomas the Martyr, and an abbot and four bishops without emblems. At the angles of the base are the four Living Creatures alternately with seated figures of the Evangelists holding books. (Pl. III, 1.)
Sall, Sts. Peter and Paul	25	2	The upper step is ornamented with quatrefoils. Each face of the lower step = 57 inches x 12 inches, and the upper step = 28 inches x 11 inches. The pedestal has empty niches, the four Evangelists, and the four Living Creatures.
Stoley, St. Bartholomew	24	1	Pedestal adorned with four-leaf flowers and four figures—two are bishops.

TABLE NO. I.—PEDESTAL AND BASE—*continued*.

	Height of pedestal and base.	Number of steps.	REMARKS.
Walsoken, All Saints	25	2	Two plain octagonal steps. The pedestal is adorned with eight statues, 11 inches in height, representing St. Philip, St. Mary Magdalen, St. John, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, St. Peter with one key, and two other saints.
West Lynn, St. Peter	21	3	The three octagonal steps have faces (1) 29 inches \times 6 inches, (2) 23 inches \times 7 inches, (3) 16 inches \times 7 inches. The pedestal is a plain octagonal shaft.
SOMERSET.			
Nettlecombe, St. Mary	25	1	Panelled pedestal standing on one step. (Pl. IV. 1.)
SUFFOLK.			
Badingham, St. John the Baptist.	39	1	Font stands on one octagonal step, each face = 32 inches \times 13 inches. The pedestal has eight figures; two represent St. Michael, one is St. Edmund, king and martyr, two are bishops, one is a figure with a staff and another with a scroll.
Blythburgh, Holy Trinity	28	2	Font rests on two octagonal steps having faces (1) 44 inches \times 10 inches, (2) 36 inches \times 12 inches. The pedestal was once adorned with eight figures, but they are badly mutilated. The four Evangelists and their symbols are on the base.

Cratfield, St. Mary	32	2	Upper step ornamented with quatrefoil; the lower step is plain. The pedestal is adorned with eight figures representing St. Paul, St. John, St. James, and five other saints, while the base has the four Evangelists and the four Living Creatures.
Gorleston, St. Andrew	24	1	The octagonal step is original, and each face = $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches \times 2 inches. The pedestal has eight 10-inch figures badly mutilated.
Great Glenham, All Saints	25	1	This font stands on one step adorned with plain shields and tracery. Each face = 17 inches \times 16 inches. The pedestal is ornamented with four buttresses, and four lilies placed in tall two-handled jars standing in niches.
Laxfield, All Saints	32	3	The steps are ornamented with tracery and quatrefoils. The lower step is octagonal, while the upper step is subdivided so as to form a cross. The base is adorned with four grotesque animals.
Melton, St. Andrew	29	1	Each face of the octagonal step = 20 inches \times 10 inches. The sides are ornamented with tracery. The pedestal is decorated with two birds holding scrolls and books, four bishops, and two seated figures having wings.
Southwold, St. Edmund	24	1	The eight figures which once adorned the pedestal were cut away by William Dowsing on 8th April, 1644.
Westhall, St. Andrew	24	2	The font rests on two plain octagonal steps having faces (1) 34 inches \times $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, (2) 30 inches \times 11 inches. The pedestal has eight plain niches.
Weston, St. Peter...	22	3	The lower step is octagonal, and each face = 32 inches \times 11 inches. The upper step is subdivided into a cross. The pedestal is the original stone, but in recent years it has been carved into panels; doubtless it possessed eight statues when it was constructed.
Woodbridge, St. Mary	30	—	The pedestal is adorned with four buttresses and four lilies placed in two-handled jars emblematic of the Blessed Virgin, to whom the church is dedicated. (Pl. III, 2.)

TABLE No. II.—BOWLS.

REMARKS.					
	Diameter across the top of bowl.	Diameter of the interior of bowl.	Depth of bowl with chamfer, outside measurement.	Depth of bowl, inside measurement.	Dimensions of sculpture on panel.
	Inch.	Inch.	Inch.	Inch.	Inch.
KENT.					
Farningham, Sts. Peter and Paul.	29	20	18	9	8 x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
The panels are enclosed in plain roll moulding.					
NORFOLK.					
Binham Abbey	32	23	20	11	11 x 11
Brooke, St. Peter	28	21	20	10	9 x 10
Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, St. Mary.	28	23	21	10	9 x 8
Cley, St. Margaret	36	21	22	11	11 x 11
This font has been sadly mutilated, and on the top are four holes 2 inches in diameter. Half angels on the chamfer hold emblems over the eight statues on the pedestal. (Pl. I, 1.) The chamfer is adorned with half angels holding emblems of the sacraments depicted in the panels above. The carving on the chamfer has all been cut away. The eighth panel is empty, and the sculpture has either been cut away or perhaps it was never executed. (Pl. I, 2.)					

East Dereham, St. Nicholas	35½	25	19	14	12 × 10	Eight half angels support the bowl. The font has been painted, and traces of colour still remain. Above the sculpture in the panels is fan-vaulting and at the angles stood angels under canopies—now mutilated.
Great Witchingham	32	22½	20	11	11 × 11	The font is badly mutilated, but the panels still retain traces of colour. Under each compartment is an angel alternately with one of the four Living Creatures. All bear scrolls, the angels holding the names of the four Latin Doctors of the Church, and the Living Creatures the names of the Evangelists. At each angle, and on a line with the angels and Living Creatures, are busts of crowned kings in emine robes. (Pl. II, 1.)
Gresham, All Saints	29	20	20	10	12 × 12	This bowl is in a very perfect condition, only a few figures being damaged. It has a plain chamfer.
Little Walsingham, St. Mary and All Saints.	31	22	22	11	12 × 10	This is one of the most highly decorated bowls in the whole series, and the sculptor has spent great care on every detail. The chamfer has been richly ornamented, but the figures have been mutilated. (Pl. II, 2.)
Loddon, Holy Trinity	30½	22	21	10	9 × 8	The chamfer is decorated with eight half angels and foliage. The carvings on the panels were sadly mutilated in the year 1642.
Marsham, All Saints	29	22½	21	11	10 × 10	The bowl is supported by eight angels with outspread wings, and the carvings on the panels are carefully executed.
Martham, St. Mary	33	22	22	13	13 × 11	The bowl is supported by eight archangels with outspread wings. The font has been coloured, and traces of gold, blue, green, and red may still be seen.
Norwich Cathedral, St. Luke's Chapel.	30	20	20	12	10 × 8	The sculptor has spent much labour over every detail on this bowl, and even in its mutilated condition it is very beautiful. At the angles between the panels are eight out of the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy, while under each compartment is an angel holding some emblem of the subject represented above. This font originally stood in the church of St. Mary-in-the-Marsh, now demolished. (Pl. III, 1.)
Sall, Sts. Peter and Paul	32	20	20	11	12 × 10	The panels are separated by pillars with two Maltese crosses carved on each. Eight angels support the bowl and carry cubics of the sacraments depicted above.
Sloley, St. Bartholomew	30½	21	20	11	12 × 11	The chamfer is adorned with eight angels holding plain shields. This font is in excellent condition and underwent some restoration about fifty years ago.

TABLE NO. II.—BOWLS—*continued*.

	Diameter across the top of bowl.	Diameter of the interior of bowl.	Depth of bowl with chamfer, outside measurement.	Depth of bowl, inside measurement.	Dimensions of sculpture on panel.	REMARKS.
Walsoken, All Saints	33	24	27	13	10 x 12	This font was erected in 1514. Angels support the eight angles of the bowl, and the chamfer is richly ornamented.
West Lynn, St. Peter	28½	22	17	11	9 x 9	The chamfer is adorned with roll mouldings, and the font has been coloured and traces of red and black still remain.
SOMERSET.						
Nettlecombe, St. Mary	28	19	19	11	11 x 11	This font is made from Ham stone and was once painted. At the date of its disfigurement it may have stood in a corner of the church, as the panels depicting Matrimony, Holy Orders, and Extreme Unction are very perfect. The costumes of the figures are those which prevailed in the reign of Edward IV. The bowl is supported by angels with expanded wings, holding books. (Pl. IV, 1.)
SUFFOLK.						
Badingham, St. John the Baptist.	32	23	22	10	11 x 11	Above the carvings depicting the sacraments are beautiful canopies, and the pillars between the panels end in deep pendants. The font was made about 1485.

Blythburgh, Holy Trinity	35	23	24	12	8 × 12	William Dowsing removed the whole of the sculpture representing the Seven Sacraments in 1644.
Craftfield, St. Mary	32	23	32	11	11 × 12	The angels supporting the bowl bear plain shields and scrolls, and at the angles are eight mutilated statues under canopies. Above the carvings representing the sacraments are small quatrefoils. The panels for the Holy Eucharist and Penance are empty. They may have been cut away or perhaps were never executed.
Gorleston, St. Andrew	33	23	24	18	15 × 11½	Francis Jessup, acting under a commission from the Earl of Manchester, mutilated the carving on this font in 1614. All trace of carving on the chamfer has been cut away.
Great Glenham, All Saints	28½	23	25	14	11 × 10	The chamfer is adorned with eight half angels supporting the bowl. The panels behind the sculpture are decorated with rays like the font at Woodbridge. The font was made about 1483.
Laxfield, All Saints	36	25	32	13	10 × 10	The sculpture representing the sacraments is placed under canopies, and the angles between the panels have ended in pendants.
Melton, St. Andrew	25½	18	19	8	8 × 11	The chamfer is ornamented with beautiful foliage, and the font was made between the years 1510 and 1520.
Southwold, St. Edmund	36	26	28	13	10 × 10	The buttresses between the panels have ended in pendants, and the chamfer is decorated with tracery. Canopies overhanging the sculpture on the panels, but the whole of these carvings were removed by William Dowsing under a commission from the Earl of Manchester on 8th April, 1614.
Westhall, St. Andrew	29½	20	19	10	11 × 10	The bowl is supported by angels with extended wings. The heads of the figures are sadly mutilated, but the font still retains much of its original colouring of gold, green, blue, and black.
Weston, St. Peter	26	21	22	10	8 × 9	The chamfer is adorned with eight angels bearing shields. The font is sadly mutilated, and the remains of nine-men-Morris games scratched by a detachment of Parliamentary soldiers may still be seen on the upper step. A road near the church is still called Cromwell's Lane.
Woodbridge, St. Mary	30	22	20	10	10½ × 10½	The bowl is supported by eight angels, and the panels behind the sculpture are decorated with rays. The date of the font is about 1483. (Pl. III, 2.)

TABLE No. III.—BAPTISM.

This sacrament is usually represented by the priest immersing a nude infant in an octagonal font. One acolyte holds the book of the ritual while another carries the chrismatory. Frequently a woman is depicted with the chrism-cloth, and other figures are introduced. The priest is vested in surplice and stole and the acolytes in surplices.

		Number of figures.	REMARKS.
KENT.			
Farningham, Sts. Peter and Paul.	Peter	4	Priest in crossed stole immersing infant. Man and woman on either side.
NORFOLK.			
Binham Abbey	...	?	This panel is badly mutilated.
Brooke, St. Peter	...	6	Priest immersing infant, acolyte with book, woman holding chrism-cloth, and two other figures. The book of the ritual still retains some remains of the words " <i>baptizo te in nomine Patris</i> ."
Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, St. Mary.	...	6	Priest immersing infant, and four other figures.
Cley, St. Margaret	...	8	Priest immersing infant, two acolytes (one with book and one with chrismatory), one man, and three women.
East Dereham, St. Nicholas	...	8	Priest immersing infant, two acolytes (one holding open book and one carrying chrismatory), and four other figures. The heads are mutilated.
Great Witchingham, St. Mary.	St.	8	Priest in red stole immersing infant. The figures are somewhat defaced, but one acolyte appears to hold the open book and another the chrismatory, a woman has something in her hand which may be the chrism-cloth, and there are three other figures. (Pl. IV, 2.)
Gresham, All Saints	...	9	The font in which the priest is immersing the infant stands on two steps. Acolyte holds open book. There are five women and one man standing with hands folded. (Pl. V, 1.)
Little Walsingham, St. Mary and All Saints.	St.	5	Priest immersing infant, two acolytes with open book and casket, and a woman holding the chrism-cloth.
Loddon, Holy Trinity	...	?	This panel is badly mutilated.
Marsham, All Saints	...	8	Priest immersing infant and acolytes and four figures grouped around.
Martham, St. Mary	...	6	Priest immersing infant, acolyte with book, a man, a woman, and a boy holding the chrismatory.

Norwich Cathedral, Chapel of St. Luke.	6	Priest immersing infant, acolytes, and three other figures.
Salisbury, Peter and Paul ...	8	Priest immersing infant, acolytes with open book and chrismatory, two men, and two women.
Stoke, St. Bartholomew ...	6	Priest immersing infant, acolyte with open book, a woman, a boy, and a girl. (Pl. V, 2.)
Walsoken, All Saints ...	6	The font in which the priest is immersing the infant stands on three steps. The acolyte stands with open book, and there are three other figures.
West Lynn, St. Peter ...	4	A priest in a crossed stole is immersing an infant. A man and woman stand on either side of the font.
SOMERSET.		
Nettlecombe, St. Mary ...	6	Priest immersing infant, acolyte, woman with chrism-cloth, and two other figures.
SUFFOLK.		
Badingham, St. John the Baptist.	7	Priest immersing infant, acolyte with book, woman holding chrism-cloth, two men, and a woman.
Blythburgh, Holy Trinity	?	Sculpture on panel quite defaced.
Cratfield, St. Mary ...	?	Priest immersing infant, acolyte and two other figures.
Gorleston, St. Andrew ...	7	Priest, infant, acolyte with open book, a woman, and three other figures. The sculpture is badly mutilated.
Great Glenham, All Saints	?	The octagonal font is raised on two steps, and the bowl is adorned with Tudor roses. The priest holds his right hand to his breast, while the left is placed on the open book of the ritual held by an acolyte vested in cassock and surplice and standing on a very tall pedestal. A woman in a hood holds the infant, and a child stands in the foreground.
Laxfield, All Saints ...	?	Priest immersing infant, and three other figures.
Melton, St. Andrew ...	6	The font in which the priest is immersing an infant stands on two steps. Grouped around are two men and two women. The letters I.B.M. are on the panels of the font.
Southwold, St. Edmund	?	The sculpture has been completely defaced.
Westhall, St. Andrew ...	?	Priest immersing an infant, acolyte with open book, a woman, and a man.
Weston, St. Peter ...	7	Priest immersing an infant, acolyte with book, and four other figures. The sculpture is badly mutilated.
Woodbridge, St. Mary ...	?	The priest places his left hand on the rim of a hexagonal font ornamented with quatrefoils, while his right hand is laid on the open book of the ritual held by an acolyte. A woman in a butterfly-head-dress holds the infant, and a man is with her.

TABLE No. IV.—CONFIRMATION.

The bishop is depicted in his long rochet with tippet over it, or else he is vested in alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre. The infants are presented by the godparents, the boys by the godfathers and the girls by the godmothers. An attendant priest or acolyte carries the casket of holy oils.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
KENT. Farningham, Sts. Peter and Paul.	4	Bishop in alb, chasuble, and mitre with crozier is confirming an infant held by a man in a long gown. An attendant priest holds the casket.
NORFOLK.		
Binham Abbey	4	This panel is badly mutilated.
Brooke, St. Peter	6	Bishop in rochet and tippet is confirming an infant presented by a man. There is one woman and two other figures.
Burg-next-to-Aylesham, St. Mary.	6	Bishop in rochet is confirming an infant presented by a man dressed in a tunic. Attendant priest and two other figures.
Cley, St. Margaret	8	Bishop in rochet and tippet is confirming an infant presented by a woman. Another infant is waiting to receive the rite, and there is an attendant priest, and two other figures.
East Dereham, St. Nicholas	6	Bishop in rochet and tippet is confirming an infant presented by a woman. Attendant priest with casket and two other figures. (Pl. VI, 2.)
Great Witlegham, St. Mary.	6	Bishop in long white rochet and tippet confirming an infant. Another infant is awaiting the rite, attendant priest in long surplice holds the casket. (Pl. VI, 1.)
Gresham, All Saints	13	Beside the bishop in rochet and tippet, this panel depicts five men and two women, and as many as five infants are to be presented to the bishop.
Little Walsingham, St. Mary and All Saints.	6	Bishop in rochet and tippet is confirming an infant presented by a man kneeling on one knee. A woman is retiring with an infant that has received the rite, and the attendant priest stands behind.
Loddon, Holy Trinity	5 ?	This panel is sadly mutilated.

Marsham, All Saints	6	Bishop in rochet and tippet confirming an infant held by a woman. The attendant is not vested in serving garments, and the vessel he holds is more like one for pouring water at baptism than the usual form of casket depicted in other representations for the chrism-oil. A woman stands in the horned head-dress of the time of Edward IV., and there is a man in a long tunic reaching to his knees.
Martham, St. Mary	6	Bishop in rochet, tippet, and mitre is confirming an infant presented by a woman; attendant priest with casket and two other figures.
Norwich Cathedral, St. Luke's Chapel.	6	Bishop confirming an infant. The panel is sadly mutilated.
Sall, Sts. Peter and Paul	7	Bishop in rochet and tippet confirming an infant presented by a woman. There are four other figures.
Sloley, St. Bartholomew	10	Bishop in rochet confirming with his right hand an infant presented by a woman and holding an open book with his left hand; two other women are bringing infants, and there are three other figures—one being a child. (PL. VII, 1.)
Walsoken, All Saints	10	Bishop invested in alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre with crozier is confirming an infant presented by a woman. A man and another woman are each carrying an infant. Attendant priest with the casket and two other figures.
West Lynn, St. Peter	6	Bishop in rochet and mitre confirming an infant presented by a man. A woman is bringing another infant, and there is an attendant priest.
SOMERSET.		
Nettlecombe, St. Mary	5	Bishop in alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre (?) confirming an infant presented by a man; attendant priest with casket, and one other figure. The sculpture is badly mutilated.
SUFFOLK.		
Badingham, St. John the Baptist.	7	This sculpture is somewhat mutilated. An infant is presented to the bishop for confirmation, a figure kneels in the foreground, priest holds the casket, and there are two other figures.
Blythburgh, Holy Trinity	?	This panel is completely defaced.
Cratfield, St. Mary	6	A man is presenting an infant to be confirmed by the bishop; an attendant priest holds a book, and there is also a man and a woman.
Gorleston, St. Andrew	6?	The sculpture is badly mutilated. The bishop is attended by two priests, and there are one man and two women. The sculptures representing the infants presented to the bishop have been defaced.

TABLE No. IV.—CONFIRMATION—*continued*.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
Great Glenham, All Saints	4	Bishop in cope and mitre and holding crozier in left hand confirms an infant with the right hand. The infant is presented by a man with long hair and dressed in a tunic. Attendant priest in cassock and surplice stands on a pedestal and holds the casket with both hands.
Taxfield, All Saints	5 ?	Panel is somewhat mutilated. The bishop is confirming an infant, and there are several other figures.
Melton, St. Andrew	5	The bishop is confirming an infant presented by a man, and there are two other figures.
Southwold, St. Edmund	?	This panel is completely defaced.
Westhall, St. Andrew	6	Bishop vested in appurpelled alb with stole crossed over the breast, cope of cloth of gold lined with green, and mitre is confirming two infants presented by a man and a woman. The attendant priest is vested in surplice and cope and holds a golden casket.
Weston, St. Peter	6	This panel is sadly mutilated. The bishop in rochet and tippet is evidently confirming an infant presented by a kneeling figure now defaced. Priest in surplice holds the casket, and a woman is bringing another infant.
Woodbridge, St. Mary	4	Bishop vested in alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre holds crozier in left hand and confirms an infant with his right hand. The infant is presented by a man dressed in hose, short tunic, and cloak. A priest in a long surplice holds the open casket.

TABLE No. V.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

The representation of the Holy Eucharist is spirited and remarkable. The priest usually stands before the altar in the act of elevating the chalice or the Host, and acolytes, sometimes holding tall torches, kneel behind him. He is usually vested in alb, amice, and chasuble, and the acolytes in long surplices.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
KENT. Farningham, Sts. Peter and Paul.	2	The priest genuflects immediately after the Consecration and before elevating the Sacred Host; a kneeling acolyte holds the priest's chasuble in one hand and a tall torch in the other. The chalice stands upon the altar.

NORFOLK.			
Binham Abbey	....	3	Priest standing before altar and a figure on either side. The sculpture is somewhat mutilated.
Brooke, St. Peter	....	3	A priest is elevating a chalice and stands before the altar; he is vested in a red chasuble with gold orphrey, and a greenish alb with gold apparel. On his right an acolyte, kneeling, pulls the rope of the sacring bell (or holds a torch) with one hand, and holds the priest's chasuble with the other. Another acolyte, on his left, holds the chasuble with one hand and extends the other in adoration. No candlesticks stand on the altar, but the missal lies open upon it. (Pl. VII, 2.)
Burch-next-to-Aylesham, St. Mary.	....	1	Priest in eucharistic vestments stands before the altar elevating the Host. The missal is on the altar, but no candlesticks are placed on the altar.
Cley, St. Margaret	....	5	Priest in alb and chasuble stands before the altar and is elevating the chalice. Two acolytes kneel on either side holding tall torches—one is in a tunic and the other in a surplice. A man is ringing the sacrist's bell, and there is one other figure. No candlesticks are placed on the altar.
East Dereham, St. Nicholas		6	The priest, deacon, and sub-deacon stand behind the altar, and there are three kneeling figures. The missal lies open on the altar, and the chalice is placed in front of the priest. There are no candlesticks or torches. The deacon's manipule is clearly visible. The moment portrayed is a little before the Consecration.
Great Witchingham, St. Mary.		4	The priest, vested in alb, amice, and chasuble, is elevating the Host. An acolyte kneels and is holding a tall torch, while two other figures kneel behind him. This sculpture shows the north end of the altar, which has a canopy over it but no candlesticks upon it. The altar-cloth is red, and the fair linen cloth is on the top of it. (Pl. VIII 1.)
Gr sham, All Saints	....	3	Priest in eucharistic vestments stands before an altar elevating the chalice, and there are two kneeling figures. The open missal and two tall candlesticks are placed on the altar.
Little Walsingham, St. Mary and All Saints.		3	Celebrant in appressed alb, dalmatic, and chasuble stands before altar elevating the chalice (mutilated). The deacon and sub-deacon kneel on either side. The open missal leans against a low reredos, and there are two candlesticks upon the altar. The details on the vestments are beautifully executed, and the celebrant is no doubt a bishop or an abbot, as he wears a dalmatic under the chasuble. The chasuble is of a full pattern, and all the sacred ministers have appressed albs.
Loddon, Holy Trinity Marsham, All Saints	....	3 ? 5	This panel is sadly mutilated. Priest in eucharistic vestments stands before altar in the act of elevating the Host, while four kneeling figures are grouped around. The missal lies open on the altar, but there are no candlesticks or torches. There is a sacring bell which can be rung by means of a rope.
E Marham, St. Mary	....	5	Priest in eucharistic vestments stands before the altar in the act of elevating the Host, four kneeling figures are grouped around, and two are holding tall torches. The missal lies open on the altar. There are no candlesticks.

TABLE No. V.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST—continued.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
Norwich Cathedral, St. Luke's Chapel.	5 ?	This panel is somewhat mutilated, but a priest in eucharistic vestments stands before the altar in the act of elevating the Host. The missal lies open on the altar, and there are no candlesticks nor torches. Four kneeling figures are grouped around.
Sall, Sts. Peter and Paul.	3	Priest in eucharistic vestments stands before the altar elevating the chalice, two figures kneel on either side, and there are no candlesticks or torches.
Sloley, St. Bartholomew	5	Priest vested in alb and chasuble is turning round to say the <i>Orate fratres</i> before he says the <i>Secreta</i> of the mass; the missal is on the Gospel side. The two servers, one with a torch, stand on a step behind the altar. There are also two kneeling figures in front of the altar.
Walsoken, All Saints	5	Priest in eucharistic vestments stands before altar elevating the chalice. Four kneeling figures are grouped around. The <i>veredos</i> is ornamented. The open missal leans against it, and two candlesticks stand on the altar, which does not appear to have a cloth spread over it.
West Lynn, St. Peter	4	Priest in eucharistic vestments is elevating the Host, a kneeling acolyte holds a tall torch, and a man and woman are standing. The chalice is placed on the altar and is covered with a veil. No candlesticks are placed on the altar. The sculpture shows the south end of the altar.
SOMERSET.		
Nettlecombe, St. Mary	3	Priest in eucharistic vestments elevates the Host. Two kneeling acolytes hold tall square torches. The chalice is placed on the altar and covered with a veil. There are no candlesticks upon the altar.
SUFFOLK.		
Badingham, St. John the Baptist.	3	Priest in eucharistic vestments is elevating the chalice, and on either side is a kneeling figure—one has a gypciere or purse hung at his girdle. Two tall candlesticks stand on the altar.
Blythburgh, Holy Trinity	?	This panel is completely mutilated.
Cratfield, St. Mary...	?	This panel has either been mutilated or perhaps never carved. There is now no sculpture upon it.
Gorleston, St. Andrew	3	This panel is badly mutilated; but the priest was doubtless standing before the altar elevating the chalice. There is a kneeling figure on either side, and in the upper corners are two cherub faces in frills. The missal is on the altar, but there are no candlesticks.

Great Glenham, All Saints	4	Priest in alb and stole crossed is giving the Communion to a man and woman who are kneeling together and holding a houseling cloth before them. An acolyte kneels with hands clasped in adoration, and the chalice is placed on the altar. There are no candlesticks or torches. The woman has the butterfly head-dress (A.D. 1483). (Pl. VIII, 2.)
Laxfield, All Saints	5	Priest before altar elevating the chalice. The missal lies open on the altar; there is a low reredos, but no candlesticks. Two figures are kneeling, and a man and woman are standing.
Melton, St. Andrew	3	Priest stands before the altar elevating the chalice. He is robed in eucharistic vestments, and a deacon and an acolyte kneel on either side. No candlesticks stand upon the altar.
Southwold, St. Edmund	?	This panel is completely defaced.
Westhall, St. Andrew	3	Celebrant in alb, dalmatic, and chasuble stands before altar elevating the chalice. A man and woman kneel on either side. Neither missal nor candlesticks are placed on the altar. The celebrant is no doubt either a bishop or an abbot, as he wears a dalmatic under the chasuble.
Weston, St. Peter	3	Priest in eucharistic vestments stands before altar elevating the chalice. A man in tunic and hose kneels on one side, and an acolyte in a long surplice on the other. The missal is open on the altar, but there are no candlesticks or torches.
Woodbridge, St. Mary	4	Priest in alb and stole crossed is giving the Communion to a man and a woman who hold a houseling-cloth. The woman has the butterfly head-dress of A.D. 1483. An acolyte in a long surplice is kneeling. The chalice stands on the altar, and the low reredos is richly adorned with panel-work. There are no candlesticks or torches.

TABLE No. VI.—PENANCE.

The Sacrament of Penance is depicted by a priest seated in a chair shriving a kneeling penitent. An angel presents the penitent, frequently spreading his wings over priest and penitent. An evil spirit is often introduced, and sometimes he is skulking away with his tail between his legs.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
F KENT.		
15 Farningham, Sts. Peter and Paul.	4	Priest is seated and is shriving a kneeling penitent. An angel hovers above, and the evil spirit with a horned head is clutching the back of the penitent with his claw.

TABLE No. VI.—PENANCE—*continued*.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
NORFOLK.		
Binham Abbey	5	Priest seated in a round arm-chair is shriving a kneeling penitent. A second penitent is approaching. The angel has taken hold of one arm, but the evil spirit has caught hold of the other.
Brooke, St. Peter	2	Priest seated in round-backed chair shriving a kneeling penitent. The sculpture also shows two other figures.
Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, St. Mary.	4	Priest is seated, and the penitent kneels before a low desk. The evil spirit is skulking away, while the angel's outspread wings overshadow confessor and penitent.
Cley, St. Margaret....	2	This sculpture is somewhat mutilated, but a priest is seated and is shriving a penitent.
East Dereham, St. Nicholas	5	A priest is seated shriving a kneeling penitent. A second penitent kneels behind at a low desk. The angel is near the first penitent and the evil spirit near the second.
Great Witchingham, St. Mary.	4	The priest is seated in a chair with railed sides; the penitent kneels at a low desk, resting her hands on a green cushion laid upon it. An angel presents her, spreading his wings widely over her. The evil spirit, coloured a dark brown, with horns and a long tail, is taking his departure through a small door.
Gresham, All Saints	4	Priest seated, and penitent is receiving a flagellation from another figure standing behind. Some years ago when the plaster was taken off this font the figure of the devil was so horrible that it was removed.
Little Walsingham, St. Mary and All Saints.	8	Priest is seated, and penitent kneels at a low desk. One angel stands behind the priest, and a second angel is thrusting the evil spirit away. The confessional is made by a curtain hung from rods. Three heads are looking over this curtain. It is possible that the artist did not intend them to assume this inquisitive position, and their presence only indicated persons in the church. They appear to be vested in surplices, and one is a priest having a stole, and another holds an open book.
Loddon, Holy Trinity	4?	This panel is badly mutilated. The priest and the kneeling penitent can be made out. The other figures are doubtless the angel and the evil spirit.
Marsham, All Saints	1	The confessional is a small chapel, having a steep roof and a window in the gable. The priest is seated in an elaborately carved chair, and the penitent kneels before him. An angel with outspread wings places his hand on the head of the penitent, and the evil spirit is skulking away with his tail between his legs.

Martham, St. Mary	4	The confessional is represented as a small chapel with a steep roof. The priest is seated, and the penitent kneels at a low desk. An angel is near the penitent, and the evil spirit, with horns and dragon-wings, stands at the door of the confessional.
Norwich Cathedral, St. Luke's Chapel.	4	Priest seated in an elaborately carved arm-chair, and penitent kneeling. There are also two other figures, but the sculpture has been mutilated to some extent.
Sali, Sts. Peter and Paul	2	The confessional is within a church having three arcades, and the priest is shriving a kneeling penitent.
Stoley, St. Bartholomew	7	Priest in round arm-chair is shriving a kneeling penitent. The evil spirit, represented as a dragon, is being thrust away by an angel. Three figures stand in the background.
Walsoken, All Saints	6	Priest seated in a high-backed arm-chair is shriving a man who kneels before him. The evil spirit stands on the penitent's head and is about to take his departure. Two women and a man are waiting to make their confessions.
West Lynn, St. Peter	4	Priest with hood over his head is seated and shriving a young man who kneels before him. Two figures are standing, and one has the hands folded in the attitude of prayer.
SOMERSET.		
Nettlecombe, St. Mary	5	Priest seated on a low wooden stool is shriving a kneeling man. At his back are two kneeling penitents waiting to make their confessions. One holds a scourge in his hand. A third figure stands in the background. (Pl. IX, 2.)
SUFFOLK.		
Badingham, St. John the Baptist.	3	Priest seated and shriving a kneeling penitent. A man with a sword at his side is waiting to make his confession.
Blythburgh, Holy Trinity	?	This sculpture is completely defaced.
Cratfield, St. Mary...	?	The sculpture on this panel has been cut away, or perhaps it has never been executed.
Gorleston, St. Andrew	4	This panel is badly mutilated. The priest is seated, penitent kneels at a low desk, and a second penitent kneels behind. An angel with outspread wings rests one hand on the priest's chair.
Great Glenham, All Saints	4	Priest with hood on his head is seated in an arcaded pew shriving a woman. A man who is approaching the confessional is seized by the evil spirit, represented with horns, dragon-wings and claws, and holding a spear or staff. (Pl. IX, 1.)
Laxfield, All Saints	4	Priest seated shriving a kneeling penitent presented by an angel. The evil spirit is departing.
Melton, St. Andrew	4	The priest is seated and shriving a kneeling penitent. An angel places his hand on the head of the penitent, and the evil spirit stands in the background.

TABLE NO. VI.—PENANCE—*continued*.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
Southwold, St. Edmund ...	2	This panel is completely mutilated.
Westhall, St. Andrew ...	4	Priest is seated and is shriving a man who kneels on a low footstool and presented by an angel. The evil spirit is departing, cast out and confounded, with his tail between his legs. (Pl. X, 1.)
Weston, St. Peter ...	4	This sculpture is somewhat mutilated. The priest is seated and is shriving a kneeling man dressed in tunic and hose. The good angel presents the penitent, and the evil spirit is departing.
Woodbridge, St. Mary ...	4	The priest with a hood on his head is seated in a kind of pew and is shriving a kneeling woman in a butterfly head-dress. An ecclesiastic in a red robe is preventing the evil spirit from approaching. The confessional is made of arched panel-work.

TABLE NO. VII.—EXTREME UNCTION.

This sacrament is shown by the dying person being anointed with oil. The priest who administers the sacrament is vested in surplice and stole, and two acolytes in surplices accompany him holding the open manual and the chrismatory. Relations of the sick person are frequently introduced standing, or sometimes kneeling, at the bedside.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
KENT. Farningham, Sts. Peter and Paul.	3	Priest anoints the dying person and an acolyte holds the chrismatory.

NORFOLK.

Binham Abbey ...	...	?	The sculpture is badly mutilated, but it is evident that a priest is anointing a dying person.
Brooke, St. Peter ...	...	4	Priest is anointing the sick man with his right hand, and the acolyte holds the vessel containing the holy oil. The manual lies open upon the bed, and the head of another figure appears above the upper part of the bed.
Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, St. Mary.	...	?	This panel is somewhat mutilated, but it would appear that the priest is anointing the sick person and other figures have been depicted.
Cley, St. Margaret...	...	5	The priest in a horizontal position and parallel to the bed is anointing the sick man. Two acolytes—one with the open manual and one with the chrismatory—and a woman stand in the background.
East Dereham, St. Nicholas	...	6	The priest is anointing the dying man, an acolyte holds the open manual, a man stands behind, and two women with hands clasped in prayer kneel at the foot and head of the bed. (Pl. X, 2.)
Great Witchingham, St. Mary.	...	5	The priest, vested in surplice and red stole, is anointing the sick man, and reading the office from a manual placed on the edge of the bed. The acolyte holds the chrismatory, and there are two women present. (Pl. XI, 1.)
Gresham, All Saints	...	8	The sick man is propped up on pillows and the priest is anointing with his right hand and pointing to his place in the open manual held by an acolyte; another acolyte holds the chrismatory; a woman kneels at the foot of the bed, and two men and one woman stand behind. A circular object is laid on the bed, and it is doubtless the dish upon which four lumps of cotton-wool are placed in the form of a cross, with which the priest wipes the places he has anointed.
Little Walsingham, St. Mary and All Saints.	...	6	The dying man is in a high bed and the priest is anointing him; two acolytes are in attendance and two women kneel weeping at the foot of the bed.
Loddon, Holy Trinity	...	4?	The panel has been sadly mutilated; but the sick man is being anointed by the priest and there have been other figures.
Marsham, All Saints	...	6	The priest has come to anoint the sick man, who reclines in a bed placed at an uncomfortable angle. His feet protrude under the coverlet at the bottom of the bed; a woman is turning down the coverlet at the top so that the priest may anoint him. There are three other figures.
Marham, St. Mary	...	6	The priest holds the chrismatory and is anointing the dying man while an acolyte holds the open manual. There are three other figures.
Norwich Cathedral, St. Luke's Chapel.	...	4?	This sculpture is somewhat mutilated, but the sick man is being anointed by the priest and there are other figures.
Sall, Sts. Peter and Paul	...	5	The dying man is being anointed by a priest attended by an acolyte. There is another figure and also a woman.
Sloley, St. Bartholomew	...	8	The priest is anointing a sick person; an acolyte holds the open manual and there are five other figures grouped around the bed. The sculpture is quite perfect.

TABLE No. VII.—EXTREME UNCTION—*continued*.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
Walsoken, All Saints	6	The priest is anointing a sick man, who reclines on a low bed; an acolyte holds the open manual, and there are three other figures.
West Lynn, St. Peter	5	The sick man reclines on a low bed; priest recites the office from the open manual held by an acolyte, and there are a man and a woman who stand with hands folded in an attitude of devotion. (Pl. XI, 2.)
SOMERSET.		
Nettlecombe, St. Mary	6	The priest is seated on a low bench and is anointing the dying man. The acolyte stands behind the priest with the open manual and is vested in cassock and surplice. The chrismatory stands open and is placed on a three-legged stool. There are three other persons present, one is a woman who is seated on a three-legged stool at the head of the bed. (Pl. XII, 2.)
SUFFOLK.		
Badingham, St. John the Baptist.	5	The priest is anointing the sick man attended by an acolyte. There are two women present, and the sick man's boots are under his bed.
Blythburgh, Holy Trinity	?	This sculpture is completely defaced.
Cratfield, St. Mary	5	The priest is anointing the dying man, attended by an acolyte who holds the chrismatory, and a man and a woman are present.
Gorleston, St. Andrew	4	The sick man reclines in a bed at an angle of 90°. The priest takes hold of the chrismatory with his right hand and the open manual is in his left. A man and a woman stand near the bed and the woman has her hands crossed. The dying man and his bed have been sadly mutilated.
Great Glenham, All Saints	3	The priest holds the open chrismatory in his left hand and anoints an ear of the dying person. A figure stands at the side of the bed. (Pl. XII, 1.)
Laxfield, All Saints	6	The dying man is being anointed by a priest who is accompanied by an acolyte, and there are three other figures.

Melton, St. Andrew	4	The priest, attended by an acolyte, is anointing the dying man. A woman is present and the sick man's shoes are placed under the bed.
Southwold, St. Edmund	?	This panel is completely defaced.
Westhall, St. Andrew	5	The dying man is being anointed by a priest vested in cassock, surplice, and stole. An acolyte holds the open manual, and a man and a woman are present.
Weston, St. Peter	5	This sculpture is somewhat mutilated; but a dying person is being anointed by a priest attended by an acolyte. A man and a woman are also present.
Woodbridge, St. Mary	3	A priest is anointing the breast of a dying man whose bed is placed at an angle of 45°. An acolyte is in attendance and holds the open chrismatory.

TABLE No. VIII.—HOLY ORDERS.

The sacrament of Holy Orders is portrayed by the ordination of either a priest or a deacon. The bishop is vested in alb, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre, and holds his crozier in his left hand while he lays his right hand on the head of the kneeling candidate. Attendant ecclesiastics hold the book of the ritual and the casket. Other ecclesiastics are represented and probably one is the archdeacon whose duty it was to present the candidates for ordination. If a sub-deacon is ordained a deacon he wears alb and dalmatic, but if a deacon is raised to the priesthood he is vested in alb and chasuble.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
KENT. Farningham, Sts. Peter and Paul	2	The bishop, or archbishop, is vested in alb, chasuble, and mitre, and holds a cross in his left hand. His right hand rests on the head of a priest who is standing—not kneeling—and is vested in alb, stole, and maniple. The sculpture has the appearance of an archbishop giving his blessing and an assistant priest standing beside him.

TABLE NO. VIII.—HOLY ORDERS—*continued*.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
NORFOLK.		
Binham Abbey ...	4	This sculpture is somewhat mutilated; but the bishop, the candidate, an ecclesiastic with the ritual and one with the casket, can be made out.
Brooke, St. Peter ...	5	The bishop, vested in tunicle, dalmatic, and cope, wearing his mitre and holding his crozier, lays his right hand on a deacon, whom he ordains priest, and who wears an alb and a red chasuble. A sub-deacon kneels on the left who is to be ordained deacon and wears an alb and a red dalmatic. One ecclesiastic holds the open ritual, and another is vested in alb and almuce, and is probably the archdeacon who presents the candidates for ordination.
Burgh-next-to-Aylsham, St. Mary.	6	This sculpture is somewhat mutilated; but the bishop holding his crozier, two candidates and three other figures can be made out.
Cley, St. Margaret...	4	The bishop, two kneeling candidates and an ecclesiastic holding the open ritual.
East Dereham, St. Nicholas	5	Bishop vested in alb, cope, and mitre, is ordaining a priest. An ecclesiastic holds the crozier, and there are two other kneeling candidates for ordination.
Great Witchingham, St. Mary.	4	Archbishop vested in alb, dalmatic, chasuble and mitre is ordaining a priest. Two attendant ecclesiastics vested in surplices hold the open ritual and the casket. The archbishop's cross is behind him. (Pl. XIII, 1.)
Gresham, All Saints	9	Bishop in rochet and mitre is ordaining a priest. There are two candidates for the priesthood and six other figures. One holds the ritual and another the casket, a clerk behind the bishop holds a thurible in his hands.
Little Walsingham, St. Mary and All Saints.	5	Bishop vested in apparelled alb, dalmatic, cope, and mitre is ordaining a deacon who is vested in alb and dalmatic. There are three other figures, and one is vested in surplice and cope and holds the casket. The bishop holds his crozier in his left hand.
Loddon, Holy Trinity	5?	This panel is sadly mutilated, it appears to represent a bishop ordaining a candidate, and three other figures.
Marsham, All Saints	6	Bishop vested in alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre is ordaining three candidates who kneel before him; two ecclesiastics accompany the bishop.

Martham, St. Mary	...	7	Bishop vested in alb, chasuble, and mitre is ordaining two priests. There are four other figures and one is vested in cassock and surplice.
Norwich Cathedral, St. Luke's Chapel.	St.	7	This sculpture is somewhat mutilated but it shows the bishop, two candidates for ordination, and four other figures.
Sall, Sts. Peter and Paul	...	4	The bishop is ordaining one candidate and there are two other figures.
Sloley, St. Bartholomew	...	7	The bishop is vested in alb, chasuble, and mitre. One ecclesiastic holds the crozier and another the open ritual. There are two candidates for the priesthood and two other figures.
Walsoken, All Saints	...	6	Bishop in alb, dalmatic, cope, and mitre, and holding crozier in left hand, is about to ordain a priest. There are four other figures.
West Lynn, St. Peter	...	4	Bishop vested in alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre, holds his crozier in his left hand, and the candidate is a deacon who is going to be raised to the priesthood. The bishop is accompanied by two ecclesiastics each holding a closed book. (Pl. XIV, 1.)
SOMERSET.			
Nettlecombe, St. Mary	...	5	The bishop is vested in alb, chasuble, and mitre, and holding his crozier, is ordaining a candidate who is kneeling before him. An ecclesiastic holds the open ritual. A barber dressed in short tunic, hose, boots, and round turban cap, is shaving a tonsure on a figure seated on a low bench. (Pl. XIII, 2.)
SUFFOLK.			
Badingham, St. John the Baptist.	the	6	Bishop in alb and cope is ordaining a priest. The bishop's head is so mutilated that it is impossible to say if he wore his mitre. There are four other figures. The ritual appears to be held on a cushion, and the candidate has not turned his face towards the bishop as he ought to do.
Blythburgh, Holy Trinity	...	?	This sculpture is quite defaced.
Craftfield, St. Mary	...	4	The sculpture is somewhat mutilated; but the bishop is ordaining a candidate who is kneeling before him, and there are two other figures.
Gorleston, St. Andrew	...	7	This panel is sadly mutilated; but the bishop has two candidates for ordination kneeling before him. The iconoclast, Francis Jessup, who defaced this sculpture, has left the crozier unimpaired and the figures of four ecclesiastics standing in the background vested in cassocks and surplices.
Great Glenham, All Saints		3	The bishop is vested in alb, dalmatic, and chasuble, and he holds his crozier in his left hand. A candidate for the priesthood kneels before him and an ecclesiastic in cassock and surplice holds the open casket.

TABLE NO. VIII.—HOLY ORDERS—*continued*.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
Laxfield, All Saints	5	This panel is badly mutilated. One candidate kneels before the bishop, who holds his crozier. The bishop is accompanied by three ecclesiastics. One is vested in cassock and surplice and another in alb and dalmatic. It may be that this last mentioned ecclesiastic is one of the newly ordained deacons.
Melton, St. Andrew	4	A candidate for ordination kneels before the bishop, who is vested in an alb and chasuble. Two ecclesiastics accompany him and one holds the open ritual.
Southwold, St. Edmund	?	The sculpture is completely defaced.
Westhall, St. Andrew	4	A candidate for ordination kneels before the bishop, who is vested in an appparelled alb and a cloth of gold cope lined with a red material. One ecclesiastic holds the open ritual, and another, vested in an appparelled alb, holds the crozier and a mutilated object which may have been the casket.
Weston, St. Peter	4	Bishop, vested in alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre, is holding his crozier while he is ordaining a deacon. Two ecclesiastics in long surplices accompany the bishop.
Woodbridge, St. Mary	3	A candidate for the priesthood in alb and chasuble kneels before the bishop, who is vested in alb, chasuble, and mitre, and holds his crozier in one hand. An ecclesiastic in a long surplice holds the open ritual.

TABLE No. IX.—HOLY MATRIMONY.

The sacrament of Holy Matrimony is usually depicted at that crucial point in the ceremony when the priest is joining the hands of the couple and blessing them. The priest is vested in alb and stole, and his acolyte in a long surplice holds open the manual.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
KENT.		
Farningham, Sts. Peter and Paul.	3	Priest vested in apparelled alb and stole unites hands of the couple. The bridegroom does not remove his hat and is dressed in a long gown. The woman has the horned head-dress of Edward IV.'s reign. (Pl. XIV, 2.)
NORFOLK.		
Binham Abbey	9	Priest vested in alb and crossed stole is uniting hands of couple. There are two women and four other figures.
Brooke, St. Peter	7	Priest, acolyte with open book, bride, bridegroom, and three other figures. One woman stands behind the bride, holding on her arm a red veil, probably intended for the care-cloth which was held over the newly married couple from the <i>Saculus</i> in the Mass until the conclusion of the nuptial benediction after the <i>Pater noster</i> .
Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, St. Mary.	6	Priest in alb and crossed stole, bride, bridegroom, acolyte with open book, and two other figures. The priest is uniting the hands of the couple, but the sculpture is badly mutilated.
Cley, St. Margaret	6	Priest unites hands of bride and bridegroom, acolyte with book, and two other figures.
East Dereham, St. Nicholas	5	The bride and bridegroom stand on the left of the priest, who recites the office from the open manual held by an acolyte vested in cassock and surplice. The bridegroom is dressed in a long gown with a belt, and the bride has a horned head-dress. There is one other figure standing in the background. (Pl. XV, 1.)
Great Witchingham, St. Mary.	4	Priest vested in white alb and crossed green stole reads the office from the manual held by an acolyte. The bride and bridegroom have joined their hands.

TABLE NO. IX.—HOLY MATRIMONY--*continued*.

	Number of figures.	REMARKS.
Gresham, All Saints	8	The priest vested in alb, crossed stole, and cope, unites hands of the couple; an acolyte with open manual; three women and a man.
Little Walsingham, St. Mary and All Saints.	7	Bishop or abbot vested in alb, dalmatic, and cope is depicted in the act of uniting the hands of the couple. The bride has a long train and a tight-fitting bodice; the bridegroom is dressed in gown with girdle and wide open sleeves. A youth stands behind the bridegroom, and he is represented in doublet and tight-fitting hose. This panel is very well executed. Beside the above-mentioned there are three other figures.
Loddon, Holy Trinity	?	This panel is sadly mutilated. The priest, however, is evidently uniting the hands of the couple.
Marsham, All Saints	7	Priest vested in alb and crossed stole unites hands of the couple, a woman stands behind the bride, an acolyte with the open manual, and two men.
Martham, St. Mary	6	An acolyte holds the manual while the priest, vested in alb and crossed stole, recites the office. The other figures consist of the couple and a man and a woman. The women have the horned head-dress of Edward IV.'s reign.
Norwich Cathedral, St. Luke's Chapel.	8	Priest vested in alb and crossed stole unites the hands of the couple. Acolyte with manual, and four other figures.
Sall, Sts. Peter and Paul	6	Priest uniting the hands of the couple, two other figures, and a boy in a tunic reaching to his knees.
Stoley, St. Bartholomew	5	Priest in alb and crossed stole unites hands of bride and bridegroom. He is represented as one-third taller than the couple he is marrying. The bridegroom has a long gown with a belt and the bride is uncovered, but has a long rosary at her side. She is accompanied by a woman and a girl. (Pl. XV, 2.)
Walsoken, All Saints	6	Priest uniting hands of couple, acolyte with open manual, a man and a woman. The bridegroom is in a long gown.
West Lynn, St. Peter	7	Priest uniting hands of bride and bridegroom, two men and two women. The men are dressed in long gowns, and the priest is vested in alb and cope.
SOMERSET.		
Nettlecombe, St. Mary	4	Priest is reciting office out of open manual held by an acolyte in surplice. Bridegroom is dressed in gown reaching to ankles, and the bride is arrayed in the horned head-dress of Edward IV.'s reign.

SUFFOLK.		
Badingham, St. John the Baptist.	7	Priest, vested in alb and cope, joining hands of the couple, acolyte with open book, a woman and two other figures. The bridegroom is dressed in a long gown with wide open sleeves, under which can be seen his tight-fitting doublet; he holds in his hand a round turban cap worn about A.D. 1455. (Pl. XVI, 1.) Sculpture quite defaced.
Blythburgh, Holy Trinity	?	Priest uniting hands of the couple, acolyte, and two other figures.
Cratfield, St. Mary...	6	This sculpture is sadly mutilated, but the priest, bride, and bridegroom can be made out.
Gorleston, St. Andrew	3	Priest uniting hands of couple, acolyte, and two other figures.
Laxfield, All Saints	6	Priest vested in alb and crossed stole is uniting the hands of bride and bridegroom. There is also the figure of a man and a woman.
Melton, St. Andrew	5	The sculpture is completely defaced.
Southwold, St. Edmund	?	Priest vested in alb and crossed stole is joining the hands of the couple; acolyte stands holding the open book; and a man in a tunic reaching below his knees has a green gypciere or purse fastened to his girdle.
Westhall, St. Andrew	5	Here we find a bishop in alb, cope, and mitre uniting the hands of a couple. The bride has long hair hanging down her back, and the bridegroom is dressed in a long gown with a girdle. Acolyte and three other figures.
Weston, St. Peter ...	7	The priest, the bridegroom, and the acolyte with his book occupy the usual positions; but the bride has been removed, and only her hand and the top of her butterfly head-dress remain. At the back of the panel are a number of radiating lines, and as these are curved where the figure of the bride has been, it would, therefore, appear that the rays were made first and the figure placed afterwards in position with eucient. The sculptor has depicted the moment when the bridegroom places the ring on the thumb, fore-finger, middle finger, and finally leaves it on the third finger of the bride, saying the words, "With this ring I thee wed, etc. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." He would hold her hand with his left hand, and have the ring in his right. It used to be put on the bride's right hand until the sixteenth century. The acolyte seems to have partially closed the book, because the priest would say the words for the bridegroom to repeat in English.
Woodbridge, St. Mary	4	

TABLE NO. X.—THE EIGHTH PANEL.

The eighth compartment is filled in with sculpture representing our Saviour on the Cross, the Baptism of our Lord by St. John, the Last Judgment, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or some other subject.

KENT.		
Farningham, Sts. Peter and Paul.		This panel depicts the communion of the people. The priest holds a paten in one hand with three consecrated wafers upon it, and with the other hand he is communicating a man. There is also a second communicant and an acolyte with a tall torch.
NORFOLK.		
Bingham Abbey ...	...	The Baptism of our Lord is shown in this compartment, but the sculpture is badly mutilated. Christ stands in the river Jordan, and the water is above His knees. St. John the Baptist is pouring water upon our Lord's head, and a figure stands on the other bank of the stream.
Brooke, St. Peter ...	...	This sculpture represents the Crucifixion, with the figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John standing on either side the Cross.
Burgh-next-to-Aylesham, St. Mary.		The Very Rev. Dr. Huscabeth believed that this panel represented St. Francis of Assisi kneeling before an altar upon which is a mutilated figure of the crucified Saviour. It has been suggested, however, that this figure may have been intended for the donor of the font represented in the attitude of prayer. (Pl. XVI, 2.) There is no sculpture on this panel, and it is impossible to say if it has been completely defaced or never executed.
Cley, St. Margaret...	...	This panel depicts the Crucifixion of the Saviour, and three figures are grouped on each side of the Cross. (Pl. XVII, 1.)
East Dereham, St. Nicholas		The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with four adoring angels. The sculpture is somewhat mutilated.
Great Witleingham, St. Mary.		

Gresham, All Saints	...	This compartment represents the Baptism of our Lord in the river Jordan. St. John the Baptist kneels upon a rock and pours water out of a jug upon the head of Christ, who stands in the river up to His knees in the water. On the opposite bank a figure stands holding our Lord's clothes. In the upper part of the panel the First Person of the Holy Trinity is depicted and also the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. The sculpture is quite perfect. (Pl. XVII, 2.)
Little Walsingham, Mary and All Saints.	St.	The sculpture depicts the Crucifixion of the Saviour, with the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John standing on either side of the Cross.
Loddon, Holy Trinity	...	The panel is sadly mutilated; but it represented the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Holy Infant.
Marsham, All Saints	...	This sculpture portrays the Last Judgment. Our Lord is seated upon a throne, His head is crowned and His hand upraised. On either side are two figures, possibly the Blessed Virgin and St. Peter. Two angels are assisting two corpses to rise from open coffins. (Pl. XVIII, 1.)
Marham, St. Mary	...	The Last Judgment is depicted in this panel. Our Lord is throned, and on either side is an archangel with trumpets. The dead are rising from three open coffins.
Norwich Cathedral, Luke's Chapel.	St.	This panel is sadly mutilated, but the sculpture represents the Crucifixion.
Sall, Sts. Peter and Paul	...	The Crucifixion is represented, with seven figures grouped around the Cross.
Stoley, St. Bartholomew	...	This sculpture shows St. John the Baptist baptizing our Lord. Christ stands in the river Jordan up to His knees in the stream, and St. John is pouring water upon His head out of a round bowl. A figure stands on the opposite bank.
Walsoken, All Saints West Lynn, St. Peter	... ...	The Crucifixion, with the Blessed Virgin and St. John standing on either side of the Cross. This sculpture is a representation of the Holy Trinity. The First Person of the Holy Trinity is seated on a throne and holds the figure of Christ upon the Cross. It is much mutilated, and it is difficult to say if the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, was depicted. (Pl. XVIII, 2.)
SOMERSET.		
Nettlecombe, St. Mary	...	This panel represents our Lord in glory, with the Blessed Virgin on His right hand and St. John the Baptist on His left, with the symbol of the Agnus Dei at His feet.
STEEFOLK.		
Badingham, St. John the Baptist.	...	St. John pours water on our Lord's head out of a jug. Christ stands up to His knees in the river Jordan, and an angel stands on the opposite bank.

TABLE NO. X.—THE EIGHTH PANEL—*continued*.

Blythburgh, Holy Trinity	This sculpture is defaced.
Cratfield, St. Mary	This panel is sadly mutilated, but it depicts the Crucifixion. The Cross stands on the top of a flight of steps, and there are five figures grouped around.
Gorleston, St. Andrew	This sculpture shows the Last Judgment. Our Lord is throned on a rainbow, and two angels are assisting the dead to rise from open coffins, which are now defaced. The legend painted above is obscure, but it is doubtless the words of St. Jerome, "Surgite mortui venite ad iudicium."
Great Glenham, All Saints	This sculpture is sadly mutilated, but the Blessed Virgin and St. John stand on either side of the crucified Lord.
Laxfield, All Saints	St. John pours water out of a large jug upon our Lord's head. Christ stands up to His knees in the river Jordan, and an angel on the opposite bank holds our Lord's clothes.
Melton, St. Andrew	This panel portrays the martyrdom of St. Andrew. A soldier stands on either side of the crucified saint, in armour which appears to date from 1510-1520.
Southwold, St. Edmund	The sculpture is completely defaced.
Westhall, St. Andrew	This panel is mutilated, but it depicts the Baptism of our Lord in the river Jordan. St. John stands on one bank of the stream and is pouring water out of a jug upon our Lord's head, and an angel stands on the other bank.
Weston, St. Peter	This sculpture is mutilated, but it represents the Baptism of Christ. St. John stands on one bank of the river Jordan and an angel on the other.
Woodbridge, St. Mary	This panel is mutilated, but it portrays the Crucifixion, with the Blessed Virgin and St. John standing on either side of the Cross.

HORSE ARMOUR.

By VISCOUNT DILLON, Hon. M.A., P.S.A.

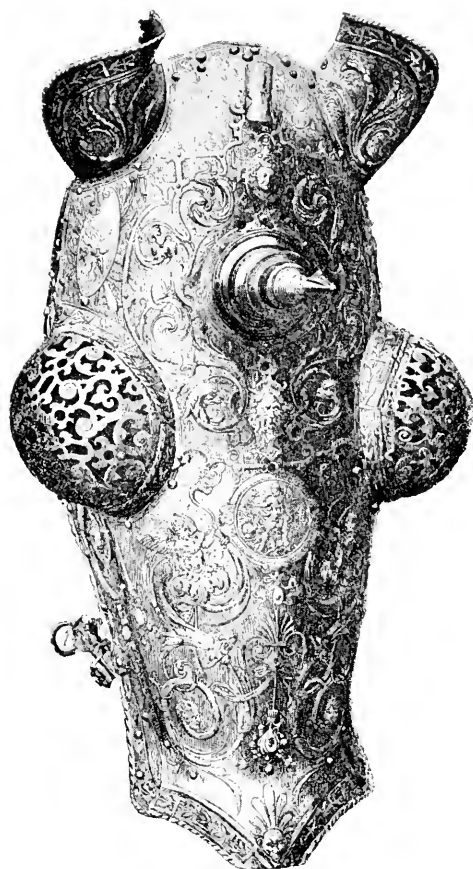
In bringing to your notice the following notes on horse armour I am not for a moment claiming to give you anything more than a collection of memoranda on the subject. Notices of horse armour are widely scattered through old wills, inventories, chronicles, and memoirs, but it is rather a long business looking up all that has been noted of this class of defence. Then again the horse armour figuring as it does not only in war but also in the tilt yard, has been somewhat confused; and not only those practical occasions for its use, but the trapper of textile material has got mixed up by many with the defensive bard. The textile trapper bears the same relation to the bard as does the surcoat to the armour of the man. It may at one time have been of service to protect from the weather or the view of the enemy, the stouter protection beneath it, or it may have been from early times a vehicle for the display of the pride of the wearer, by the richness of its material or the ornamentation lavished on it, or both. The floating drapery of the horse trapper without something beneath it could be of no practical use as a defence, and in fact one would suppose it must have been a hindrance to the horse's free movements if not sometimes a source of danger, just as the long surcoat which contributed so much to the death of that fine soldier Sir John Chandos. When the rich trapper and its owner had finished their military career the trapper was sometimes given or bequeathed to a church, and as an ornament for the altar or some such purpose began a new existence. Sometimes the order of things was reversed as when at the sack of Rome in the sixteenth century, rich hangings from the churches were turned into horse trappings by the fierce conquerors.

I do not propose to speak of the mailed horse of the early centuries as we see him represented on Trajan's column and other places, but merely to consider the defensive armour for the horse as used from about the thirteenth century to the end of the sixteenth. This seems a short portion of the period belonging to armour, but armour for the man did not so very long survive that for the horse. In both cases, to the tilt yard probably belong the finest examples of armour, and both man and horse would find that their power of offence was much limited by artificial modes of defence.

I propose to briefly note documentary illustrations of the subject, and equally briefly to mention some of the surviving examples of horse armour. A small comparative list of the names of the different portions of the defence in different languages may be of use to the student just as the note of armour now existing may assist the artist, but it would be desirable that in pictorial representations of this class of armour, artists would clearly distinguish between what was worn in the field and what was worn in the tilt yard. In illuminated MSS. no doubt more armour both for man and horse is seen than it was ever the custom to wear. It must be remembered that there were two reasons against much armour being worn by man or horse, cost and convenience. No armour was cheap, and even if it were to be had for nothing, as after a Cressy or Agincourt, the human or equine ability to wear much for any but short distances would prove serious drawbacks.

We must first note the different portions of which the horse armour might consist, and these of course were not always all worn or mentioned. Commencing with the horse's head, the face was protected by a chamfron (shaffron). (Pl. I, from *L'Art Ornemental*.)

This might be of one piece or of two fastened together by turning pins so that the lower part might if necessary be detached. The upper portion had small attached pieces for the protection of the ears, and in some highly ornamented armour, as for instance in some at Madrid, the ear defences take the form of horns. The eyes also were in some cases defended by pierced or trellised pieces, and in some varieties of the German joust the eye



CHAMFRON : HORSE ARMOUR MADE FOR THE ELECTOR
CHRISTIAN II. IN 1606. (DRESDEN.)

(From *L'Art Ornemental*.)

coverings were closed so that the horse could not see at all. To some chamfrons we find cheek pieces rivetted so that the sides, as well as the front, of the head, were protected. In the centre of what we may call the forehead was often placed a small escutcheon of arms, and sometimes standing out from this would be a spike some 4 to 6 inches long. Some chamfrons have also a plume pipe in which to set a plume of feathers, though in some cases the plume or top-net, as it was then called, sprang from a small plate intermediate between the chamfron and the crinet.

In Spanish, *Testera* or *Testinia* was the word for the shaffron. The cheek pieces are called *faldas laterales*. Count Valencia de Don Juan calls the shaffron with a very convex profile *à perfil acarnerado* or sheep-like profile. The *testera* we may take in Spanish descriptions to include the small plate connecting the shaffron and crinet.

Angelucci says that the difference between the *frontale* and the *testiera* was that the former only covered the front of the horse's head while the latter protected the nostrils and the cheeks.

At Turin there are several of both kinds, and also oriental *testiere* formed as usual of a centre plate with side pieces attached by chain mail.

Below the chamfron was sometimes worn a muzzle, not necessarily to prevent the horse from biting, but as a defence and ornament. Of these muzzles there are in various collections many examples.¹

¹ One in the Tower of London of pierced steel with the letters IWDZBMGDHGG and figures of the imperial eagle and a fleur-de-lis, bears the date 1572.

Another of probably about the same date and at Ham Hall, Derbyshire, is figured in Scott's *British Army*.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum are two examples, one bearing the date 1604 and figured at p. 61 of the *South Kensington Handbook on Iron Work*.

At Paris there are three, one of which bears the date 1567, the imperial eagle and the name Hans Schreir.

At Brussels are two muzzles of German make, one of pierced and graven brass dated 1578 and the letters ISDGZDADE and WDTDSGLENI, the other of blackened iron with the

inscription *Wir dancken und loben alzeit Got*.

At Turin are two examples, one with the letters H. SS. SB. Z and the date? ISLX. The other, dated 1573, has the inscription CHIACHIDA GOUNDNA CHT with figures of a man and animals. Both these examples, like those at Paris and four muzzles in the Wallace collection, have the figure of a small lizard which the late Angelo Angelucci considered was due to a German superstition common in the middle ages. He also considered that these muzzles were more for ornament than use.

In the Madrid armoury the muzzle *bozal* does not appear.

At Vienna are two muzzles, one with the imperial eagle and the date 1593, the other with 1609.

Of chamfrons in the Tower collection there are four which deserve notice as works of art.

Nos. 17 and 18, chased and parcel gilt, of the time of Henry VIII.

No. 20, of the armour of George, Earl of Cumberland, *temp.* Elizabeth.

The chamfron of the Leicester suit is all that remains of the bard belonging to that rich suit, if indeed there were any other parts. It is interesting as being of the period between 1566, when the Earl of Leicester received the Order of St. Michael, and 1588, the date of his death. Like the man's armour it displays the ragged staff marked in every instance with the crescent of cadency, he being the second son of his father. On the centre of the chamfron is a rather rude *repoussé* figure of the bear and ragged staff, and from this starts a spirally fluted spike. The bear and the spike appear to be of later and inferior work to the rest of the chamfron, and are attached to it, not part of it.

The chamfron is seen on the seals of—

1361. Louis de Chatillon, Comte de Blois ;

1404. Pierre de Navarre, Comte de Mortain ;

1409. Louis dauphin de Viennois, with pierced or trellised eye guards.

In 1449 the Comte de St. Pol at the siege of Harfleur had a chamfron worth 30,000 *écus*, but the Comte de Dunois at his entry into Bayonne in 1451 had one valued at 15,000 gold crowns.

1278. 38 *capita corii de similitudine capitum equorum pro uno 2s.* Windsor tournaments.

1386. Chanfrein lined with cloth stuffed with cotton, outside "*garni de maille de haubergeerie*," attached to "*les crains dudit cheval o tresses de chanvre.*" Lobineau's *Ducs de Bretagne*.

1446. Ollivier de la Marche mentions silver chamfrons with long horns spirally twisted with gold and silver.

1492. A son of Ferdinand of Arragon, King of Naples, had a chamfron valued at 100 million ducats.

Next to the chamfron we may take the crinet for the defence of the neck. Meyrick and others absurdly called this the manefer ; confusing it with the main de fer or bridle gauntlet. This part of the armour was probably



PECTRAL AND CRUPPER: HORSE ARMOUR MADE FOR THE ELECTOR
CHRISTIAN II. IN 1606. (DRESDEN.)

(From *L'Art Ornemental*.)

in the *cuir bouilli* times made of one piece of leather moulded to cover the neck, but in the metal days we generally find it composed of some nine to twelve arches, which allowed for the play of the horse's neck. The top arch was connected with the small triangular piece which was in its turn connected with the top of the chamfron. The late Herr Boheim in speaking of the crinet says that the last, that is, the lowest arch, is always fastened to the saddle. He further mentions that the crinet was in German called *Halsstück* or *Kanz*, and when the throat also was defended *Ganzer Kanz* was the term used. The throat defence does not appear to have been common, and there is none on the Tower examples, but it is seen in some of the Vienna and Madrid suits. In Spanish the crinet has by the Conde de Clonard been called *Capizana*, and he claimed to have met the term in some eleventh century documents, but Count Valencia de Don Juan, the present Director of the Armeria at Madrid, says that the word is not to be found in any dictionaries nor in sixteenth century inventories. Belleval, in his *Costume militaire française en 1446*, published in 1866, uses the word *cervicale*; but Gay in the *Glossaire Archéologique*, remarks that he can find no ancient authority for the word.

According to Count Valencia, *Cuello* is the term for the throat defence.

We now come to the peytral, the fore part of the body armour or bard or barbe, for it is called by both these terms. (Pl. II, from *L'Art Ornemental*.)

This portion of the armour defends the horse's breast, and is generally in three portions, a central one and hinged to each side of it side pieces protecting the shoulders.

In some illuminations and drawings hinges are shown down the medial line of the breastpiece, but no examples thus hinged have been met with. The peytral was supported by straps from the saddle bow, and perhaps when there was a throat defence this last was attached to the peytral at its lower part.

French authors have discriminated between the peytrals "*en tonne*" and *à charnière*.

On the peytral of many metal and other bards of rigid

material, may be noticed two round protuberances, one on each shoulder. These are called in Spanish *pezoneras*; this word means a breast pump or breast glass. In French they are called *bossoirs*. In German the word used by Boheim is *streifbuckel*, which may be translated as glancing knop. There seems to be no English word for these bosses, and in the two fine bards in the Tower they are merely *repoussé* bosses about 12 inches in diameter and about 3 inches in relief. In the bard of Charles V. at Madrid and with the suit known as El de Valladolid, A 37, these *pezoneras* take the form of lions' masks, and are of separate pieces of metal attached at their centres to the bard, but having a slight amount of movement circumferentially toward the rear and an internal spring arrangement which brings them back to their normal position when the pressure (as of a lance stroke) is removed. The object of this arrangement of course is to prevent the lance head biting on the bard, and the German term *streifbuckel* well describes this. The Spanish term merely relates to the flattened hemispherical shape. Another bard (I think at Dresden) also has these movable bosses. On the bard of the suit of Christian I. 1560-1591, E 6a of the Dresden catalogue, besides the bosses on the peytral, there are two on the crupper. The four are engraved with the arms of Saxony and the initial letters of the Saxon kurfürst's motto *F[ide] S[ed] V[ide]*. The armour is supposed to have been made in 1588 by Anton Peffenhauser of Augsburg.

Hanging from the saddle on either side were the flanchers, generally pretty flat pieces of metal, sometimes with slots in them for the stirrup leathers to pass through. The front margin of each flancher was coterminous with the margin of the peytral on each side, thus leaving no gap in the defence of the horse's body. So also the hinder margins coincided with the front margins of the crupper. (Pl. III, from *L'Art Ornemental*.)

The horse's body behind the saddle was protected by the crupper (Pl. II). This consisted of various pieces of plate bolted together, namely, the top piece, which was often moulded, so as to allow of the free action of the horse's hind legs up in the haunch. Running along the centre



FLANCHERS : HORSE ARMOUR MADE FOR THE ELECTOR
CHRISTIAN II. IN 1606. (DRESDEN.)

(From *L'Art Ornemental*.)

of the back was a piece of metal at first flat but becoming arched as it reached the tail, and often finished in a grotesque shape as the head of a dragon or of a dolphin. At the Rotunda, Woolwich, is a very fine example of this class of finial, and another, formerly in the Meyrick, is now in the Wallace collection. Fastened to the upper crupper on either side were plates or groups of plates which protected the flanks of the horse down to about 6 inches below the belly. These plates were connected behind, by a piece beneath the tail, thus enclosing the body of the horse. Sometimes we find these plates or groups of plates descending vertically, at other times they are dished out at the lower part, thus conforming to the peytral.

We have now mentioned all the parts of the horse armour as seen in European museums and armouries. And a few historical notices of horse armour may be of interest.

In the painted chamber at Westminster the wall paintings, now destroyed, but whose designs are preserved in the drawings by Stothard in *Vetusta Monumenta*, show two examples of the mail trapper. These paintings, it is supposed, were executed in the 21st Henry III. 1236 and 1237. The horse is completely covered from head to tail, and there is no textile trapper over the chain mail.

In England the statute of 27 Edward I. 1298-1299 mentions the "*chival couvert*." Of course in pictures where flowing draperies are worn by the horses there may or may not have been mail trappers underneath.

Philip the Fair in 1303 ordered that all holders of estates of 500 livres rental should furnish among other things "*un cheval de cinquante livres tournois et couvert de couvertures de fer ou de couverture pourpointe*." If "*chevaux couverts*" may be taken to mean barded horses, then according to Rigord this class of defence was in use as early as the battle of Bovines 1214.

In 1311 Sir John le Vavasour in his will bequeaths "*unum par de treppes*," and about the same date Sir John Marmaduke also bequeaths two pair. It is curious that in English as well as in foreign documents we find the trappers mentioned almost always as a pair. By this we must understand not a longitudinal division of the

defence but the portions respectively in front of and behind the saddle.

In Louis Hutin's inventory, 1316, we find "*une couverture de jazeran de fer; item une couverture de mailles rondes demy cloées; une testière de haute clouère de maille ronde. Item ij chanfreins dorez et un de cuir.*"

1319-1322. Will of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex. *1 corset de fer. 1 coverture pour 1 cheral des armes de Hereford.*

1322. Inventory of Roger Mortimer in Wigmore Castle mentions:—*¶ paribus de chanfrenis pro equis ad arma cum quinque paribus coopertorium de frati, cum flancheris et piceris de corio. ij paribus de treppes. ci paribus coopertorium ferr. pro equis et ij mantell ferr.*

In July, 1338, £6 13s. 4d. was paid to Gerard de Tournay Heaumer of Edward III. "*pr le reclouer et fourbir et garnisser de une couvert de plate pr chival delivrez en la Gard du Roi à Arewell (Orwell, Suffolk).*"

In the Louterell Psalter executed about 1340 is a good example of the armored trapper of that date. The chamfron appears to be of some rigid material, but there is no sign of a chain-mail trapper beneath the textile.

John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, in his will proved July, 1347, bequeathed to Robert de Holland with other armour "*le picer de cuir*" for his destrier; to Otes de Holland he left "*les couverturs burnutz de plate qui sont pour mon destrier.*" Here we have *cuir bouilly* horse armour at the same date as metal defences. The earl also bequeaths to his son "*tout mon hernois pour le jouter,*" so the plate trapper may have been only for the lists and not for war.

In the inventory of William III., Count of Hainault, published by M. E. de Puelle de la Nieppe in the seventh volume of the *Annals of the Archaeological Society of the Arrondissement de Nivelles*, are mentioned under the year 1358 "*ij paires de couvretures de chevaux de fier de mailles et une paire de couvretures de fier de plattes.*" These of course are armour, and in the same inventory are "*8 paires de couvretures de kerans aescucés de hacement des armes de Haynnau et dont d'un bleu samit.*"

In the Add. MS. 15,477, of about 1360, knights are

seen with their horses protected by plate chamfrons and crinets and peytrals, but chain mail neck defences. Plate or *cuir bouilli* cruppers consisting of an upper piece and pendant panels on each side are also shown. See Hewitt, II., 231.

In the chronicle of Duguesclin two *battailes* or brigades each of 10,000 men on *destriers armés* are mentioned as being among the Spanish troops at the Battle of Najara 1367.

In 1367 for the duel between Douglas and Erskyn "*longas armaturas et cooperturas pro duobus equis*" are mentioned.

In 1386 the Statutes of the Florentine painters speak of the horse armour as being of leather and made from hides of various animals, cows, bulls, "*bufolo*," etc., as is the custom of Florence. No bard painter was to presume to have in his shop bards made of any kind but according to the Florentine custom nor to paint any but these.

In a list of armour forfeited to the King Richard II. by the Earl of Arundel, who was executed 20 September, 1397, are :—

i chaumfreyn blac dac^r pr le teste d'un chival.
 iij pecez d'un trappur d'acier.
 j sell pr j bastard ove j bride & peytrell enbordurez
 ove les armes darundell.
 iiij selles pr tonements dont iij enbroudez & le
 quarte peintez.
 viij brides v pair de strepes iiij peytrell.
 i necte pr j trapur livre.

In the list of effects of Thomas Duke of Gloucester at his castle of Pleshy, 1397, trappers are mentioned, one embroidered with the arms of the Dukes of Gloucester, and two others "*batuz*" with the same arms and those of the Constable. The first trapper, with a penon, is valued at £20, the other two with several banners and small penons are put down at 13s. 4d. only. No metal horse armour is mentioned.

1405. The seal of Jean Sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, shows a chain mail trapper and neck and throat chain mail defence; there is also an armored trapper. The oldest mail trapper on seals is that of Robert de

Montraut, 1214; Comte de Comminges, 1226, has neck and peytral of chain mail, the crupper armored; Savari de Mauleon, 1225, has a mail trapper all of one piece but scolloped for the spur place.

The cloth trapper was called *couverture pourpointe*, while the mail trapper was *couverture de fer*.¹

The great seal of Edward I. is the earliest with a trapper (armored).

In the Harl. MS. 1319, of the deposition of Richard II., in the second plate, on the horse of Richard II., who is knighting the youthful Henry of Monmouth, a chain mail trapper is seen beneath but not reaching as low as the housing which is semée with feathers. The MS. was executed soon after 1400.

In Harl. MS. 4431, the poems of Christine de Pisan, illuminated about 1420, a knight's horse is seen with plate chamfron and a short crinet of three plates. The neck defence as also the peytral and the crupper are of chain mail. The chamfron has the horse's eyes protected by pierced hemispheres. This is figured by Hewitt, III., 61.

The earliest representations of chamfrons and rigid peytrals in German art are to be seen in a MS. in the handwriting of Wilhelm von Orlenz, 1419, at Stuttgart, and the MS. of the *Trojanischer krieg* 1441, in the Germanischer Museum, Nurnberg. These are reproduced in Dr. Alwin Schultz's *Deutsches Leben im XIV und XV Jahrhundert*. In neither of the above instances are crinets or cruppers worn.

In the Fastolf Inventory of 1459, among all the arms, armour and other belongings of the knight, the only items which can be connected with horse armour are "ijj Trapuris, with ijj clothis of the same sute."

At the entry of Charles VIII. into Rome in 1494, a body of French lances accompanied him, and Paolo Giovio in mentioning the event says that they were remarkable from the fact that many of them did not have their

¹ *Un collo da cavallo de malia.*

Due petti di malia da mettere ali petti ali cavalli.

Un petto de malia da cavallo.

Libr. Aquila.

1543.

horses "*tegumentis recocto è corio confertis, uti nostris mos est.*"

In 1488, John Bourdichon, the King of France's painter, receives payment for repairing and repainting several of the King's bards on which were all sorts of designs.

In 1500, horse bards of leather and of "*cartes ou cartons*" appear in the inventory of Francis I. of Luxemburgh.

In 1512, at the battle of Ravenna, Raymond de Cardona, Viceroy of Naples, had with him some 1,200 or 1,400 men-at-arms of whom 800 were on barded horses.

1513, April. Among things to be remembered by the King's (Henry VIII.) grace touching his going in person with the army Royal into France. . . .

3^d The army should consist of 80,000 fighting men sufficiently armed, viz.: 1,000 horsemen "bardid" each with a page and a custrell, able to fight 10,000 horsemen "not bardid" and full armed each with a page and a custrell. 3,000 demi-lances whole armed with light armour except the legs, of whom 500 should be Yrysmen, 10,000 archers on foot, 4,500 bills and marispikes English and Welsh, 5,000 Almain marispikes, 500 gunners, 1,000 pioneers.

1513. 4th August–27th October, among payments for the war with Scotland is mentioned, 2 horse harness makers at 8*d.* each a day.

1513. In the remembrances for the apparel, etc., of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, going to join the English army in France.¹

A trapper of my Lord's arms embroidered upon velvet, etc.

Another trapper of crimson cloth of gold, etc.

Another trapper of St. George of white damask with a cross of St. George.

Another trapper of "Curbely" covered with blue velvet embroidered with devices.

Another trapper beaten with my Lord's arms, etc.

Three Chamfrees. Three Crinez for my Lord's own

¹ *Archæologia*, XXVI.

courseurs and as many feathers and plumes as well for my Lord's salletts and horses as shall best be thought behovefulle.

In 1513, Feb. Nicolo de Favri, describing England, says that the English cavalry consisted of 10,000 men, the greater part light horse and the rest heavy and barbed.

July, 1513. Bavarin mentions that there were 9,000 to 10,000 heavy barbed cavalry, and 8,000 light horse.

1515. Sir Robert Wingfield, writing to Henry VIII., 24 July, 1515, from Vienna, describes the entertainment by the Emperor Maximilian of the King of Poole (Poland), and says, "on the 21st the king of Poole rode to court. The Emperor gave the king of Hungary a bumbard which was carried to the water by 30 horses, and to the king of Poole two courseurs all covered with steel to the fetlocks and (round) the belly, save in the spurring place." This, it will be seen, quite describes such horse armour as Junker Albrecht is represented with. (See below.)

$\frac{8}{1}$ of the Brussels collection is a portion of articulated plate defence for the off hind leg of a horse. It would protect the lower part of the thigh, and is enriched with fluting and engraving. This is the only piece of such armour that has been met with.

The pictures at Cowdray, now only surviving in the engravings made of them shortly before their destruction, show very many instances of the use of horse armour; and in the picture at Hampton Court of the Battle of the Spurs, and in that also of the meeting of Henry VIII. and the Emperor Maximilian in 1513, are valuable evidences of the use of these defences.

1547. The military trapper or bard was evidently only worn when fighting was imminent, for Patten in his account of the battle of Pinkey (1547) says, "their (the Scots) horses were all naked without barbs, whereof though there were right many amongst us, yet not one put on forasmuch as at our coming forth in the morning we looked for nothing less than for battle that day."

1550. Gaspard Seigneur de Tavannes, in his memoirs under the year 1550, mentions that the French king, Henry II., sent him to Marshal de Brissac in Piedmont

with his company "*où il y avoit cent gentils hommes ayant leurs chevaux bardés d'acier.*" But under the year 1554, when speaking of the siege of Renty, in August, he says that M. de Guise sent 400 light horse supported by Tavannes, "*avec sa compagnie bardée des premières bardes d'acier qui s'étoient veues.*"

From the above it would seem that bards of *cuir bouilli* had been the usual military equipment.

1552. Francois de Rabutin, in describing the army which assembled under Henry, Duke of Guise, at Metz in 1552, speaks of "*les hommes d'armes montés sur gros roussins ou coursiers du Royaume, Turcs et chevaux d'Espagne avec les bardes peintes des couleurs des sayes que portoient leurs capitaines*" . . . also other great lords in gilt and graven armour, "*leur chevaux forts et adroits bardés et caparassonnés de bardes et lames d'acier légères et riches ou de mailles fortes et déliées couvertes de velours, draps d'or et d'argent, orfèveries et broderies en sumptuosité indicible.*"

1588. Tower Inventory :—[S.P.D. Eliz. cexi 83.]

Shafferns whole ccl.

,, demi xxij.

1660. Tower Inventory :—

Shaffrones, *viz.*, to be repaired 92 ;

white and serviceable, 42.

Barbes for horses wanting one shaffron, 2.

It should not be forgotten that in the early middle ages leather played a much more important part in the matter of defensive armour than many credit it with. Not only was the knight's body armour often made in part of the *cuir bouilli* or moulded leather, but the horse armour was also often of this material. And with good reason it was employed, for it was lighter and probably much cheaper than either small plates or chain mail. It was also susceptible of much ornamentation by painting and gilding. Even after the introduction of gunpowder, which so far from driving out metal armour, was in use before the plate armour we are accustomed to see in pictures both ancient and modern, and even after the invention of hand firearms, *cuir bouilli* afforded a defence not inferior to that given by plate armour. Gunpowder

as used in small arms was really a mild form of the explosive which gives a muzzle velocity of 2,000 feet. Cruso in his great work on cavalry, 1632, quotes de la Noüe, who says, in 1587, that the proper and effective manner of using the pistol was to place the muzzle against the body of your enemy below his cuirass and then to fire. Such a precaution was probably necessary for hitting your man sometimes, and when de la Noüe states that the pistol was not effective at more than three paces, it sounds as if the 16-foot pike of the seventeenth century was more of a long range weapon than the pistol. Anyhow the *cuir bouilli* was not less valuable than metal as a defence, except from artillery. If it protected the man from gunshots it was not less effective against the edge of a sword or the point of a pike, and even the English arrow, unless it struck fair so as to bite as it were, would glance off the light and tough pressed leather.

The following are some notices of *cuir bouilli* horse defences which will show the extent to which they were used :—

Il quale Re mense seco duemila cavalieri, ed aveano scudi la cui materia no era di legno ma di *cuoio cotto*.

G. Giudici, 1333.

E sie s'arma d'armadura di *cuoio cotto* le quali armadura pesavano piu di quattrocento libbre. Tav. Rit.

Ed erano tutti armati di *cuoio cotto* e cosi gli elmi, e non si potean dare di punta, ché cosi s'usa nel torniamento. Stor Ajolf.

In 1446 when the Seigneur de Ternant and Galliot de Balthazin fought on Thursday the 27th April at Arras, the latter was mounted on a "*puissant roussin couvert d'une barde de cuir de bouffle peint a sa devise (qui fut à manière de ceintures tortuées) et y avoit au chanfrain, au poictrail et ès flans de la barde grandes daques d'acier.*" When the marshal of the lists saw this he informed the Duke of Burgundy, then acting as judge, who at once sent Toison d'or to tell Galliot that such armament was contrary to the terms of the challenge. The "*daques*" were then removed. Ternant's horse only had on a small "*harnois de velours cramoisy*," after the

German fashion. Matthieu de Coucy, in his *Histoire de Charles VII.* says that Galliot's horse, "*selon la coutume de Lombardie estoit tout couvert de fer.*"

Under September 21, 1465, Jean de Troye mentions "*un cheval de pris qui estoit tout bardé de cuir bouilly, qui fut tue d'un coup de coulevrine,*" by the Burgundians.

In 1467, when Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy fought in Smithfield, it is mentioned that the fourth horse of the Bastard was "coovird with bardes of courbuly richely couvird with cloth of goolde." His other seven horses, as the nine horses of Lord Scales, were covered with rich trappers of velvet, cloth of silver, cloth of gold, of damask, and of ermines, but no actual defensive materials are mentioned. "Demi trappers, juste cloos trappers, trappers unto the foot," and a long trapper are noted.

1491. For representations of richly ornamented *cuir boulli* bards there is hardly a finer example than the bas-relief of the battle of Brescia on the monument of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, in the Certosa of Pavia. Galeazzo Visconti died in 1402, and the monument is much later, the bas-reliefs in question being executed by Gio Antonio Amedeo, who lived 1447-1552 and it is thought made them in about 1491. A cast of the bas-relief is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and many interesting details of horse and also man armour are clearly shown.

One of the most interesting relics of past times now in the Tower Collection is the upper part of a crupper of *cuir boulli* or pressed leather. This is one of what were no doubt a very large number at one time in the Tower. The piece weighs 5 lb., and is well moulded to the form of the hinder part of a horse's back. Near the margin are holes no doubt for the attachment by points or laces of the other pieces forming the crupper. It may certainly have been for jousts and tournaments only, and then the cloth or textile trapper would be fastened to it.

In the accounts of Sir George Howard, Master of the Armoury, is under date 1 Edward VI. 1547, "Bought of one Woldeney of Westminster for the furniture of the army sent to Scotland,

Lether barbes XLVI.

„ Crynits XLVI."

Leather bards were also sent from Sion (Northumberland) at the same date, but as we know were not used at Pinkey, 10th September, 1547.

In the 1564 inventory of the Tower stores we find "LXVI leather barbes" mentioned, but in the inventory of 1569 they do not appear. In 1611 "1 barbe of leather" is noted, and this we may suppose to be the existing example. It would seem therefore that the use of the *cuir bouilli* horse defence actually ceased in 1547, and that at some time between 1561 and 1564 the small number then in store was reduced to one piece. Probably many uses were found for the discarded leather, and nobody missed them. As I have not met with mention of such defences still existing in any modern collection elsewhere, we can only consider ourselves lucky in having this one example.

We may now note some of the best examples of horse armour in European armouries.

Vienna.

v. Maximilian, horse armour about 1508. The chamfron with side plates covering the whole of the head. The crinet of strips of plate with chain mail between them covering the neck and throat. The peytral of three pieces. The crupper with imperial eagle on each side and monster-head tail pipe. The reins of plate.

xvi. Rupert, Pfalzgraf of the Rhine, about 1502. Chamfron with side pieces. Crinet of seven lames and two lames under throat. Peytral with *pezoneras*. Crupper of scale straps with knob on top and a tail pipe. Reins of plate.

xvii. King (later Emperor) Ferdinand I., 1547. The chamfron of two pieces, the lower skeleton. The crinet of ten lames with three throat bands of small plates. The peytral of three pieces. The crupper has an upper part of plate straps, with two deep plates hanging on either side.

II, 14. Of about 1550, plain chamfron, crinet of six lames covered with cherry coloured velvet. Peytral and crupper of iron straps covered with velvet. There are five similar horse armours in the collection.

In the Zeughaus at Vienna was a portrait in oils on canvas of Junker Albrecht, Harnischmeister to the Grand Duke Maximilian I. He is represented as unarmed save for a shirt of mail which shows through the openings of his slashed sleeve, and a black breast and chin piece in one. The horse on which he sits is covered to the hoofs with plate armour. The chamfron is ridged and has a spirally twisted spike projecting from between the eyes, which are protected by cross bars. The neck and throat are protected by a crinet and under piece, the whole fastened by buckles under the throat. The peytral, with scolloped lower margin from which hang bells, is ornamented with a griffon and the Burgundian cross between the usual briquets or steel "strike-a-lights." The crupper of overlapping lames has on it, from near the saddle to the hinder part, a couchant dragon whose mouth forms the tail pipe.¹ There are no flanchers, but the horse's body is covered with articulated lames which leave a space void on each side for spurring.

The horse's breast is protected by a close-fitting series of lames which at the breast develop into the leg defences. These consist of an arrangement of close-fitting lames hinged on the outside and buckled on the inside. Only the front of the legs is covered at the knees, the upper and lower parts of the leg defences being connected by scale-covered straps. The hind legs are similarly protected, the front of the hocks having scale-covered straps. The lower parts of the fore and hind legs do not appear to be buckled, but have long shooting bolts to connect the two portions. These bolts are on the front of the fore legs but on the back of the hind legs. The lowest portion of the leg defences of all the legs does not appear to be hinged at all. An inscription on the canvas tells us that on Wednesday after our Lady's day, September 8th, in the year 1480, the expert Albrecht rode a horse thus armoured.

¹ On each side depend from the crupper plates similarly engrailed, and with bells like the peytral. These are ornamented with a female figure with a

high head-dress, and holding in her right hand a shield bearing the arms of Maximilian; from her left hand flies a scroll with an inscription.

It would be difficult to believe this picture were it not that we have a notice of such armour in another place, and in the Porte de Hal collection is to be seen a portion of a similar horse armour (see above).

At Dresden is the magnificent armour for man and horse made by Heinrich Knopf for Christian II., the Elector, 1583–1611. (Pls. I, II, III.)

The whole horse armour is covered with *repoussé* work of the highest class. The subjects are as usual classical.

The chamfron has the eyes protected by hemispherical pieces of metal pierced in intricate designs.

The armour was made in 1606 at a cost of 8,800 gulden, or about £1,750, and is one of the very finest examples of the armourer's art.

There are no *streifbuckeln* on the peytral, which consists of three pieces. The crupper is of eleven pieces bolted or nutted together.

The whole armour has been well figured in *L'Art ornemental*, December, 1883.

At Dresden are many fine examples of horse armour, but the above is quite the most remarkable.

Madrid.

A 26. Horse armour of Charles V. Chamfron fluted; crinet of ten openwork lames; peytral of three pieces; flanchers; crupper, the upper part of openwork metal with pendant plate-covered straps. The whole engraved and gilt.

A 37. Horse armour of Charles V. Chamfron with large side pieces, the ear covers of curled goats' horn design; crinet of nine or ten lames overlapping a throat defence of large scales. The peytral has *pezoneras*; flanchers; crupper bell-shaped with tail pipe. The suit is known as *El de Valladolid*. (Pl. IV, from *Catalogue of Real Armeria*.)

A 65. Horse armour of Charles V.; embossed chamfron; crinet of nine lames with blunt ridge points, metal covered straps and connecting crinet to peytral three on each side. The crupper of metal covered straps with large knop on top, reins covered with plates.

A 149. Horse armour of Charles V. Chamfron; crinet



HORSE ARMOUR OF CHARLES V., KNOWN AS EL DE VALLADOLID. (MADRID.)
(From *Catalogue of Real Armeria*.)

of small plates ; plate-covered reins ; openwork peytral ; crupper of openwork with tail pipe.

A 243. Horse armour of Philip II. Chamfron covering sides of head ; crinet of lames connected by strap and buckle with throat lames ; peytral with *pezoneras* ; flanchers ; bell shaped crupper. (Pl. V, from *Catalogue of Real Armeria*.)

A 263. Horse armour of Philip II. Chamfron ; crinet of fourteen lames ; throat defence ; plate-covered reins ; peytral ; flanchers and crupper.

A 291. Horse armour of Philip II. Chamfron ; crinet. This armour is incomplete.

In the Madrid armoury several of the metal bards are worn over richly embroidered trappers. Such may have been the case elsewhere, but it seems more probable that where the bard was plain, the trapper was worn over it, attached as has been described by *points* or laces passing through the metal. In the pictures at Hampton Court the bards are not shown with flowing trappers at all, and one would think that a flowing trapper would incommode the horse more than the heavy steel bard.

In the MS. history of the Earl of Warwick by John Rouse (Brit. Mus. Cott. MS. Julius E. IV.) in Pl. XXX, the earl is seen jousting at the tilt. His horse has a flowing trapper, on the flanks of which are large circular plates ? displaying the Hastings *manche*. Similar but smaller circular plates protect the horse's shoulders, but there is no peytral. The horse has a plate chamfron, and a crinet of nine lames with apparently a chain mail fringe.

While on the subject of the trapper it is worth noting that de Vigne in his *Vade Mecum du peintre*, 1835, gives a sketch, purporting to be taken from a MS. in Ghent, of a trapper which is cut in the form of trousers for the horse, giving it the appearance of legs like an elephant. Enquiries as to the MS. have, however, up to the present proved fruitless.

In the Tower of London are two very fine examples of sixteenth century bards, both bearing the supposed north Italian stamp M , but belonging to different dates. The one is a fine bold *repoussé* bard displaying the well known badges of the Dukes of Burgundy, namely, the

crossed ragged staves and the flint and steel or briquet. The plate reins also are cut to show the same badges, and the lower margins of the peytral and crupper are also engraved with pomegranates and other badges. The whole bard has at one time been washed with silver.

The crinet consists of eight lames and a top and lower lame; this last is dished out so as to avoid fretting the horse's neck. The whole weighs 7 lb.

The chamfron is of three plates, the two side ones covering the horse's head and embossed with a design of leaves. The eyes of the horse are protected by perforated hemispherical guards, and the ears also are protected. The centre piece bears the Burgundian cross raguly embossed on it.

The second one is a bard which was engraved probably by some of the Almain armourers in the service of Henry VIII., to match the suit by Seusenhofer given by the Emperor Maximilian in 1514.

The peytral of this suit consists of a centre piece to which are hinged two shoulder pieces having each one a circular boss or *pezonera*. These side pieces protect the horse's shoulders and reach upwards near to the crinet. At the lower part of these side pieces are rivetted two three-sided plates, which thus bring the side pieces back to the flanchers. The centre piece weighs 2 lb. 7 oz., and the side pieces each 5 lb. 2 oz., the whole peytral thus weighing 14 lb. 11 oz.

The *pezoneras* or projecting bosses are 14 inches in diameter, and about 3 inches in relief. On the dexter one is engraved St. Barbara with attendants superintending workmen building a tower. On the sinister one is shown the trial of St. George. On the centre piece is engraved St. George on horseback slaying the dragon.

The flanchers are nearly rectangular pieces about 27 inches by 11 inches, with a square hole in the centre for the stirrup leather to pass out, and are suspended by straps at their upper corners; they weigh about 3 lb. 4 oz. each.

The crupper consists of eight plates nitted together. These are: (1) an arch crossing the horse's back; (2) a piece behind that with a ridged tail pipe (3) rivetted to it; (4, 5) two plates on either side below the arch;



HORSE ARMOUR OF PHILIP II. (MADRID.)
(From *Catalogue of Real Armeria*.)

(6, 7) two plates below the hinder piece; and (8) a breech piece under the tail.

On the dexter upper plate is the decollation of St. Barbara and on the lower plates are groups of St. Barbara being led to execution, and of the saint taking refuge from her pursuers in a tower.

On the sinister upper plate is the decollation of St. George, while on the lower plates are groups of the saint being racked, and tortured by being placed in a brazen bull beneath which a fire is being kindled.

The whole field is covered with foliage, roses, pomegranates, and the letters H & K.

On the sinister flancher are engraven two winged mermen. Engravings of the horse armour will be found in Vol. XXII. of *Archæologia*.

The two parts of the bard are not made the same way, borders being added to the crupper and tail piece. The flanchers and peytral are continuous to the margin.

The Burgundian bard (Pl. VI) may be taken to belong to the years 1477-1482, for the Emperor Maximilian in 1477 married the daughter of Charles le Temeraire, thereby acquiring an interest in the Burgundian badges of the cross raguly and the pomegranate, both of which figure so largely in the *repoussé* and engraved ornamentation of this horse armour. The death of Marie in 1482 was followed by the Emperor's marriage with Bianca Maria Sforza in 1494. The bard is composed of twelve pieces, the peytral of 14 lb., two flanchers together 8 lb., a large arched piece next the saddle weighing 4 lb., two upper pieces of the crupper each $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. These are joined above to the tail piece of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb., and below to the nether crupper pieces, each of 9 lb. These again are bolted to a piece of 4 lb. under the tail. The lower pieces consist of two plates of metal united by rivets. The saddle steels, the front one of three pieces weighing $3\frac{1}{2}$ lb., and the back one of two pieces together 2 lb., make up a total of 65 lb. To these must be added the reins each of three plates of metal and weighing 4 lb.; the crinet of eleven arches, a lower piece which splays out, and a *testière*, together 7 lb.; and lastly, the chamfron of 5 lb., which however has lost one cheek piece. The sum total is 81 lb. of metal besides the head stall, the saddle trees, the

stirrups, etc. These last are wanting. The horse would have to carry some 90 or 100 lb. besides the rider and his armour.

The scheme of ornament consists of the Burgundian cross raguly, the briquet or fire steel, and pomegranates and foliage. In some parts the fusil predominates, in others the pomegranates or the cross. The same scheme is followed in the pounced and engraved ornament, and sometimes the *repoussé* work is heightened by engraving. The hinges and buckles of the bard are in the shape of briquets. The reins of flat openwork metal display the same designs; and the whole, in its original state of silver and parcel gilt, must have been exceedingly handsome.

The saddle is of the class called by German writers *krippen sattel*, the cantle and pommel pieces coming round on each side so as to leave but a small space for entering the saddle, but giving much support to the rider when seated.

The following notices of Horse armour of Henry VIII. occur in the Calendars of State Papers:—

1514, Sept. Paul van Urelande for a horse bard for the king, £66 13s. 4d.

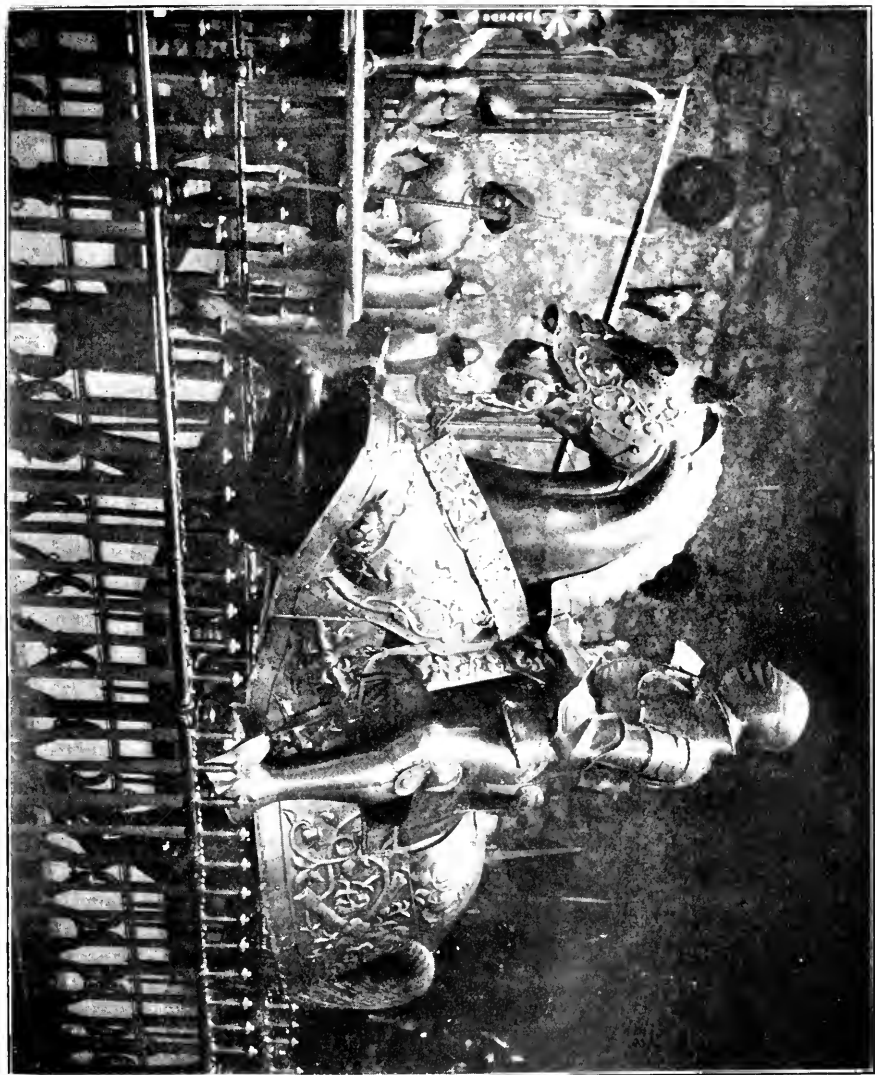
1515, June. Paul van Ureland graving harness, £66 13s. 4d.

1515, Mar. Peter van Ureland graving and gilding bards, £66 13s. 4d.

1515, Mar. Th. Broke workmanship of hides for bards, £11 6s. 8d.

1516, May 28. Annuity of 100 marks for Paul van Ureland, the king's harness gilder.

1516, May. Henry VIII. to John Heron, Treasurer of the chamber, has bargained with Paul van Urelande, harness gilder, for the making, engraving, gilding and silvering of a barb, a saddle and a neck piece for a horse "like sample according unto a complete harness which of late he made for our body." Ureland is to find the gold and silver, wages of workmen, coal, quicksilver, etc., but not the "barb saddle neckpiece and all of steel. And for the engraving, gilding and silvering he is to have £200 which Heron is to pay as follows: 100 marks on the sight of these letters, 100 marks at Christmas



HORSE ARM OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. (TOWER ARMORY, LONDON.)

next and 100 marks at the Annunciation then next ensuing" . . . t year of our reign.

1514, June. Fras de Barde 2 rich jackets with 2 coverings for horse bards, £800.

1519. Revels. P. 1548, Vol. 3, Cal. S.P. H. VIII. Steel Bards. Gilt with a trail of roses and pomegranates, with the story of St. George and St. Barbara, and a crynny and shawfron wrought by Powle. Silvered parcel gilt with pomegranates and Burgonyons crosses crynny, shawfron and reins, with a fringe of gold and black silk given by the Emperor.

Parcel gilt with crynny, etc.

Ungilt three with crynnys, etc.

Parcel gilt two crynnes and shawfrons.

two shawfrons.

two of Powles gilding lacking an ear.

Not gilt, sixteen crynnes and shawfrons.

four other crynnes without shawfrons.

Saddles of steel. Silvered and parcel gilt covered with crimson velvet with a border of pomegranates, the Emperor's gift.

	Engraved.	Burgundian.	
Chamfron	5 : 4	5 : 0	<p>These bards, it will be seen, are nearly identical in weight, and are constructed on very similar lines. Their weights may be compared with that of the <i>El de Valadolid</i> of Charles V. in the Armeria at Madrid, A. 37, which is also of German make, though without any armourer's stamp. This bard with its throat defence of scale armour weighs 129 lb., but this probably includes the saddle, saddle steels, reins, etc.</p>
Crinet	6 : 13	7 : 0	
Peytral centre	2 : 7		
„ left	5 : 12	} 14 : 0	
„ right	5 : 2		
Flancher, right	3 : 5	4 : 0	
„ left	3 : 4	4 : 0	
Crupper, upper right ..		4 : 8	
„ „ left	} 15 : 8 {	4 : 8	
„ „ tail		2 : 8	
„ lower right		8 : 8	
„ „ left		8 : 8	
„ „ tail	3 : 12	4 : 0	
Arch behind saddle	with upper crupper	4 : 0	
	69 : 3	71 : 8	

In the Tower of London is a fine Persian horse armour composed of small brass plates connected by strips of

chain mail. It was formerly known as "The Crusader," but this attribution is clearly wrong. The system of small plates so connected, whether of steel or of brass, is common in much oriental armour.

The horse armours in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, consist of various numbers of pieces. Thus, including the *bâte de devant* or front saddle steels, generally of three pieces, and the *bâte de derrière* or *troussequin*, generally of two pieces, No. G 545 is of 24 pieces of metal; G 552, 19 pieces; G 553, 23 pieces; G 564, the horse armour of Louis XIII., is of 19 pieces.

At Turin there is a remarkably fine peytral (*pettièra*) of one piece of metal splendidly chased with festoons of fruits, medusa heads and foliage. It belonged to Antonio Martinengo. See *Turin Catalogue*, p. 155.

In the Lifruskammer at Stockholm are several horse armours of very varying worth. One of these, No. 12, is, like the man's armour, richly enamelled in black, white and red. The armour bears the stamps of Nuremburg and Conrad Lochner, 1510-1567, or according to Boheim, that of Conrad's brother Hans. No. 10 of the same collection is as inferior in style and execution to most horse armours as No. 12 is superior. The most interesting feature of the collection is the great number of heavily and richly embroidered trappers for horses, so heavily and thickly quilted as to be probably quite as efficient a protection as No. 10.

Hansard says that the Spaniards invented felt coverings for their horses as a protection against the Floridian arrows, and Lewis and Clarke mention that the Shoshone Indians used horse armour composed of many folds of antelope skins. Du Pratz says that the Comanches covered their horses with dressed leather hanging down all round.

In German we find many words used for the chamfron, its parts and its various forms. Thus *Rosskopf*, *Rossestirn*, *Haubstierl*, are all words for the chamfron, and *Sturl* and *Klepperstirn* are applied to the half chamfron. On the face of it was generally a *Stirnschildchen* or small shield engraved with the owner's arms, while from the centre of this projected the *Stachel* or spike. Some chamfrons had *Pagkhn* (*Bakken*) or cheek pieces. Some

had grated coverings for the horse's eyes and some, *geblendete*, covered the eyes altogether as in the jousting called *Gesteck im hohen Zeug*. *Halsstück* was the crinet.

Kanz was another name for the crinet and *ganzerkanz* the defence when including throat; the *Fürbug* was the peytral with its *streifbuckel* or glancing bosses; *Gelieger* the crupper, sometimes with the *knopf* or knob of apple-shape, sometimes like a *grelot* or spherical bell.

Zugel bleche were the plates protecting the reins, and *Schweifbunde* the arrangement for fastening or trussing the tail.

The whole bard, in its earliest form called *Parsche*, was of one piece, but later it was divided into two parts, in front and behind the saddle.

According to Boheim the chamfron first appears in 1300, then in 1360, the horse's neck receives protection of small plates; in 1400 the peytral comes into use, and a little later the crupper.

The Spaniards as we have seen use the words *testera* for the chamfron. *Cuello* was the crinet, also *collera* or *capizana*. *Pechera* or *pretal* was the peytral with its *pezoneras* or protuberances. *Costeras*, *francaletes* or *flanqueras* were the flanchers.

Coplon or *Grupera* was the crupper with the *guarda maslo* or tail piece; *caparazon* was also used for the crupper.

The French apply the following names to the parts of horse armour.

Chanfrein à vue or *aveugle* according as it is with eye openings or without. *Têtière*, the small piece connecting the chamfron and the *barde de crinière* or crinet. The *barde de poitrail à charnière* or *à jupe*, that is the peytral in three portions or in one. The *bossoirs* are the protuberances on the sides of the peytral. The *Flancois* or flanchers, the *Barde de croupière*, which is *à jupe* or *à tonelle* according as the sides of the crupper dish outward or go down straight.

The *porte plumet* is either on the *tetièrre* or on the *chanfrein*.

The *garde queue* is the prolongation of the crupper protecting the tail; sometimes it is styled *culeron*.

In Italian *Testiera* and *Frontale* are both used for the

chamfron, though the *testiera* was properly the small plate connecting the top of the chamfron with the upper lane of the *collo* or crinet. The chamfron was *à vista* or *à cieca*, that is, for exposed or for covered eyes.¹ The *brocco* or *spuntone* is the spike. The *gorgiera* is the throat defence. The peytral is called *petto*.² The flankers are *Piancali*. The crupper is *schiena* or *groppe*, and the tail piece *guarda coda*.

It will be noticed that on bards of steel when not ornamented with *repoussé* or engraved work, and on *cuir bouilli* bards when not painted or otherwise adorned, there are holes in pairs situated at intervals along the margins of the portions of the bards and also in other places. These were for two purposes, those near the margins, for the attachment together of the various pieces, the other ones for the fastening to the rigid bards of the trappers of textiles, etc. The fastening was arranged by means of points, that is short laces of leather cord or silk with *aiguillettes* or metal tags at the ends. The points were passed through the rigid bards from underneath, and then through the textile trapper, and tied in a bow knot on the outer face. It would be necessary in such a manner to keep the light flowing drapery of the trapper in its place during the rapid movements of the horse, or in a wind. These points for attaching the various parts of the bard together are seen in the numerous German tourney books, illustrations of which are given by Hefner, Henne am Rhyn, etc.

Besides *cuir bouilli* and metal as materials for horse armour we find now and then wadded protections for the horse mentioned, as when Juvenal des Ursins, under the year 1411, says that the Gascons under the Comte de St. Pol had on their horses "*coultepointes pour doute du trait*," that is, quilted defences against arrows.

Gay in his *Glossaire archéologique* says that in the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris there is a chamfron of "*parchemin ferré*," but it does not appear in the catalogue.

¹ The plume holder is *pennacchiera*.

² Or *pettiéra* or *pettorale*, *codone* or *posolino*.

NOTES ON SOME NOTTINGHAMSHIRE BELLS.¹

By the Rev. CANON RAVEN, D.D., F.S.A.

In a ramble of a couple of days in Nottinghamshire in the summer of 1855, from Worksop to Southwell, and thence to Newark, looking at churches and climbing towers, I collected a few inscriptions on old bells, which after the lapse of many years I venture to bring under the notice of the members of the Royal Archaeological Institute, in the hope that the collections of others may be brought to light, and further information gained as to the history of the bells of the county.

Of those which I saw, the earliest, I think, was the smaller bell at Halam, without inscription, but noted by me as "a regular 'petasus,' with a flat edge, rather conical, and surmounted with six canons forming a sort of crown." The Rev. Robert F. Smith, vicar of the parish, kindly answered my inquiries, corroborating my record of the Norman chancel arch, and the *voussoirs* of zigzag mouldings in the chancel door. He informs me that this bell is cracked. From its character it seems a rare survival of Norman or very early Plantagenet times, and as the furnace may some day be its destiny, I hope that a photograph may be taken of it before it passes away. These specimens of the early founders are of manifold importance in the history of the craft.

Next, we come to a little group with Longobardic lettering, probably some two centuries later than the Halam treble, if it may be dignified with that name, namely, the trebles at Kirklington and Edingley and the third at Rolleston. That at Kirklington is inscribed

2CA: MARIA: ORA PRO NOBIS: ROBERTVS
WILKINSON: MEIERI: FECIT ✚

I have to thank the Rev. J. A. Pink, vicar, for examining the initial cross (Fig. 1) and the form of the letter

¹ Written for the Nottingham Meeting, 1901.

S (Fig. 2) in the inscription. The result is that the cross is identical with that used by a nameless founder, known in Lincolnshire for a group of what are called S bells, from their bearing that letter only. The form of the Kirklington S corresponds with these, but the little leaf ornamentation is not discernible, for which perhaps the casting may be accountable.

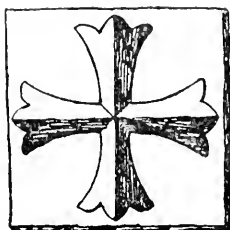


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

On these bells other marks, a rose, and shield bearing the letter R and a bell, are sometimes found, both of which were afterwards used by Nottingham founders. The position of the churches and this circumstance of union of marks favours a Nottingham origin. Any information about Robert Wilkinson of Kirklington will be valuable, as giving an approximate date for the founder.

In 1376 William le Brasiere "de Notyngham" was admitted to the freedom of the city of Norwich. He is thought to be identical with "Willelmus de Norwyco," the maker of the bell at Hellesdon, Norfolk, given by Johnes de Heglesdon, whose brass in that church is dated 1384, and of the second at Conington, Cambridge-shire. There seems, however, to be no identifying the Kirklington lettering with that of these bells. In the last number (Vol. XIV, p. 308) of the original papers of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society we find in the View of Arms for the Leet of Wymer in 1355, "Willelmus Brasyere."

At Edingley we are met with difficulty of access. The two bells were in some manner of tower in 1855. Now they are in a turret, and the vicar thinks that no ladder in the parish will reach them. My pen-and-ink sketch,

however, seems to identify the smaller of this pair with Rolleston third in origin. Instead of the cross at Rolleston there is, indeed, only a thick perpendicular line, and between the words in each bell are three dots, whereas at Kirklington there are but two. The inscription is :—

□ SANCTA : MARIA : ORA : P : ROBIS

Provisionally, therefore, I regard this bell as the handiwork of a certain John of York, as the third at Rolleston is unquestionably from his foundry. The inscription on the latter bell runs :—

✠ ILLI : RECERVNT : ME : IN : HONORE : TRINITATIS.

which suggests that the bell was the gift of the Parish Guild.

The bells of John of York are to be found at a considerable distance from the city from which he is named.

That praiseworthy recorder of Cambridge events, Bowtell, the bookbinder, in his MS. which remains in Downing College Library, has given the inscriptions on the old eight at St. Mary's-the-Great, before the recasting by Richard Phelps in 1722. On the fourth we find "Johannes Yorke hanc campanam fecit in honore Beate Marie." No work of John of York's, however, is extant in that county, but in drawing nearer home, bells are found bearing his name. In Northamptonshire is the tenor at Great Billing, bearing the same inscription which I have given from the now recast Cambridge bell, and Mr. North gives a similar legend, naming St. Peter instead of St. Mary, as on the old third at Clapton, a church dedicated to St. Peter.¹ The larger number in Leicestershire, ten in all, suggests a possible temporary establishment of this founder in or near Leicester, or a

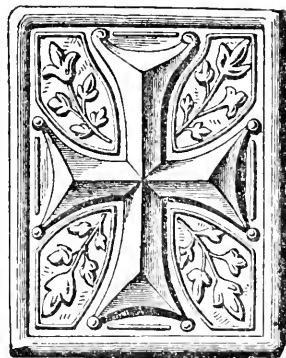


FIG. 3.—INITIAL CROSS OF
JOHN OF YORK.

¹ *Church Bells of Northamptonshire*, pp. 57, 222.

business tour, such as we can trace in other founders' operations, the castings being made on the spot. The ten are Billesdon fourth, Birstall third, Brentingby treble, Cotesbach second, Hungarton third, Long Clawson fourth, Sproxton two smallest, Witherley fifth, and Wanlip second. The last-named, however, seems later in date, having + *Saucte Nicolane Ora Pro Nobis* in black-letter, but it bears the angel so frequently found on the other bells. If any one will be at the trouble of marking on a map these places where the marks of John of York are found, he will see, as it appears to me, a distinct suggestion of a business round, made in part along the Watling Street, though beginning in the county of Nottingham, a part of the arch-diocese.¹

The founder's craft was early and successfully practised at York. Brother William of Towthorp, probably a Franciscan, cast the beautiful mortar of the farmery of St. Mary's Abbey in 1308, and it remains in the York Museum as a memorial of his skill. Richard Tunnoc, bell-founder, who represented the city in the Parliament held at the opening of the reign of Edward III., has left his mark in York Minster by means of the well-known Bell-founder's Window. John of York was very likely a follower of Tunnoc, and the style of his lettering renders it quite possible that he may have learned his business from that M.P. of Plantagenet days.

Leaving this little Longobardic group, we must notice the little treble at Carlton-in-Lindrick, remarkable for the magnificent lettering, which as yet is only known in that tower and in the county of Lincoln.

It has only fallen to my lot to see these exquisite characters at Tennyson's birthplace, Somersby, but they are to be seen in other towers in that county. The first view of them is as to the astronomer

“When some new planet swims into his ken,”

but hardly anything is known of their history. The position of the churches seems to indicate Lincoln as the site of the foundry. The time is the earlier part of the fifteenth century, as proved by the dates 1423 on the second and

All but two are in the north-eastern quarter of the county.

third bells at South Somercotes, and 1431 on the third at Somerby near Brigg. Contemporaneous with the South Somercotes date is the last year of the incumbency of William Chambers, as we should call him, who was rector of Carlton-in-Lindrick from 1417 to 1423, as I am informed by his successor, the Rev. J. Foxley.

The hexameter on this bell is one well known in many parts of England :—

+ VIRGINIS □ EGRÉGIE □ VOCOR □ CAMPANA □
MARIE □ DÑS WILLS ◇ CHAWMBIR

The initial cross is not the unusually fine one found on the majority of the Lincolnshire group, which is in a square, this being smaller, and in a lozenge.

The letter O contains a bishop's head, presumably the effigy of Bishop Fleming, who presided over the see of Lincoln from 1420 to 1431.

A full account of the two Mellours, founders, of Nottingham, towards the end of the fifteenth century, and of the grandson of the younger Mellour, Robert Quernbie, may be found in North's *Church Bells of Lincolnshire*, pp. 103–105.

From the same source we obtain several notices of the Oldfields, who seem from Mr. Fowler's notes to have migrated from York. After Robert Quernbie's death Henry Oldfield carried on the business by himself. I found two of his bells, the third and fourth at Farn-don, inscribed respectively, "God save ovr chvrch," and "JESVS BE OVR SPENC 1589,"

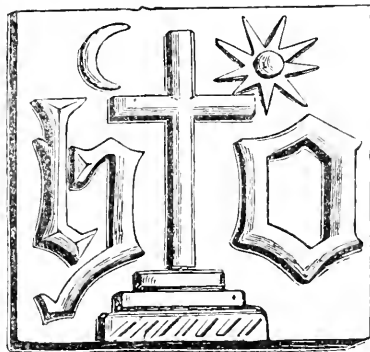


FIG. 4.—STAMP OF HENRY OLDFIELD.

with his moon and star mark, adopted by his son George Oldfield, who cast in 1663 the two bells at Bilsthorpe. This use of the paternal stamp is notable for the survival of the head and tail of the H above and below the G, and the insertion of a face into the O. We must not omit the share taken by Henry Oldfield in the recasting of Great Tom of Lincoln in 1610. This work he carried

out in conjunction with the Newcombes or Leicester in the cathedral yard, evidently producing a very grand bell, though it did weigh 100 lbs. more than its predecessor. I must not enter into its history, save to record its sad end through some mismanagement in the striking of the clock-hammer, that frequent cause of a crack in a fine bell. In 1827 a crack was found in its rim, and it was broken to pieces by blows of its own clapper on June 18th, 1834, the recasting with additional metal, on the 15th of November, giving the present fine bell, which weighs a ton more than the Tom of 1610.

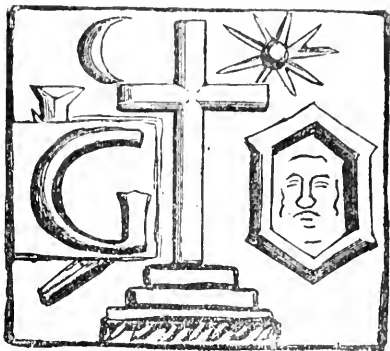


FIG. 5.—STAMP OF GEORGE OLDFIELD.

It may prevent disappointment to seekers after old bells if it be noted that the rings of eight at Southwell Minster and Newark, each with a tenor of 28 cwt., were from the celebrated foundry of the Rudhalls of Gloucester, in the time of George I., and of the Worksop six only one, which has no inscription, is of an earlier date. The bells at Elston and Farnsfield appear in the Downham Market list, and cannot be older than 1778, when Thomas Osborn dissolved his partnership with Edward Arnold of St. Neot's, and set up a foundry in his native town.

The subjoined list of Pre-Reformation and modern bells in the county is kindly supplied by Mr. H. B. Walters, F.S.A. :

PRE-REFORMATION BELLS.

Wm. Dawe :
Greasley.

J. Danyell :
South Muskham.

Early Nottingham (fifteenth century) :

Burton Joyce.
Cromwell.
Selston.

Nottingham (R. Mellour) :

Bunny.
 Carcolston.
 Cotgrave.
 Owthorpe.
 Ruddington.
 West Bridgeford.

Misterton.
 Radford.
 Scarrington.
 Shelford.
 Stapleford.
 Thrumpton.
 Whatton-in-Vale (sanctus).
 North Muskham.
 Langford.
 Colston Bassett.
 Strelley.
 Sutton Bonnington, St. Anne.

Unknown :

Cropwell Bishop.
 Hucknall Torkard.

MODERN BELLS.

Taylor's List :

Balderton, 5.
 Beeston, 8.
 Blyth, 6.
 Bulwell, 6.
 Clifton, 6.
 Coddington, 5.
 Everton, 6.
 Harby, 5.
 Holme Pierrepont, 5.
 Lenton, 6.
 Langar, 5.
 Radcliffe-on-Trent, 6.
 Willoughby, 6.

Warner's List :

Winthorp, 5.

Mears' List :

Averham, 6.
 Edwinstowe, 6.
 Perlethorpe, 6.
 East Retford, 8.
 South Collingham, 5.
 Sturton-le-Steeple, 5.

Others :

Kirton, 8.
 Normanton - on - Soar, 4 of
 1897.
 Misson, 6 of 1894.
 South Wilford, 5 of 1891.

CURRENT ARCHAEOLOGY.

EXCAVATIONS AT WAVERLEY ABBEY IN 1901.

The work at Waverley Abbey last season commenced in May and continued without interruption until the middle of December, with results far more interesting and satisfactory than had been anticipated. Much time was spent in filling in and levelling the excavations of previous seasons. This work, both expensive and uninteresting, was a necessary condition made by the owner before further excavations were permitted. Later, the rest of the church was examined, the foundations of the *pulpitum* and portions belonging to the monks' stalls being amongst the discoveries. The most important work has, however, been to the west of that portion of the *cellarium* which is still in evidence. Here the foundations of the lay brothers' Infirmary hall, measuring roughly 94 feet by 41 feet, were unearthed with the bases of the pillars of the north and south arcades *in situ* and for the most part in an excellent state of preservation. Other portions of this block of buildings, including the kitchen, were also excavated. Next season should see an end to the work here, provided sufficient labourers are obtainable and funds are forthcoming. At present there is a serious deficit in the fund, and any contribution will be gladly received and acknowledged on behalf of the Surrey Archaeological Society by the Rev. T. S. Cooper, M.A., F.S.A., of Holmbury, Eastbourne.

LEWES PRIORY.

The excavations lately made here to the east of the dorter range, in the area enclosed on the north by the railway cutting and on the east by the boundary wall of the monastic precinct, have resulted in the discovery of the farmery hall and a chapel which probably served as

the farmery chapel. The hall occupies the southern and western part of the excavated area, and is a rectangular building having its major axis east and west, divided by arcades into a central nave with north and south aisles. The entrance was from the west by a central doorway, and in the north aisle is a second doorway, from which a pentise led to the south door of the chapel. No architectural features remain except a plinth and the lower parts of pilaster buttresses, and a few courses of faced ashlar round the walls; the bases of the piers of the arcades are square, of plastered rubble, with wrought stone angle dressings. The south wall, having been in part a retaining wall of the terrace on which the hall stands, has not been so much destroyed by the levelling of the site as the rest. The date of the work is the end of the twelfth century, and it forms part of the general scheme of building which was carried on here as elsewhere, by which the first temporary buildings of a monastic house were gradually replaced, as time and money allowed, by more substantial and permanent structures. As first built, the hall seems to have been complete in itself, and to have had no smaller chambers adjoining it—a chapel it did not need, as one was already in existence on another site—but some massive foundations abutting on its eastern wall show that additions were made to it, probably at no great interval from its first building.

The chapel, which lies to the north of the hall, and between it and the railway cutting, is in several ways remarkable. It consists of an aisleless nave, shallow north and south transepts with eastern apses, and a shallow square-ended chancel, the axis of the building being several degrees to the south of that of the hall. The masonry details are exceedingly good, and the date is about 1130. The chapel has been purposely destroyed by undermining and throwing the walls, but owing to the depth of soil on the site and the excellence of the masonry the lower parts remain in very good condition, the stonework being in places as perfect as when it was built. The whole chapel has most probably been vaulted, the vaulting shafts remaining in the chancel, which with the two apses opened towards the west by arches

springing from massive semi-circular responds. The thickness of the nave walls, 7 feet, suggests that it was covered by a barrel vault, and the same may have been the case in the transepts. The west wall of the nave has disappeared, and no trace of a western entrance remains; but in the south transept is the doorway by which the chapel must have been entered from the farmery hall, if, as seems probable, it was used as the farmery chapel. Immediately to the west of this doorway is a vice, of which only a few steps are left. There have been three altars; that in the northern apse is still in good preservation, having lost little but its *mensa*. A small piece of the pavement of glazed tiles remains.

No other building of importance has been found, but parts of a post-suppression house, in which earlier walls are incorporated, are to be seen to the north-east of the farmery hall.

The excavations have been carried out by Mr. Michell Whitley for the Sussex Archaeological Society.

CAERWENT.

The work of the year has consisted mainly in the excavation of the west wing of House II and of the whole of a large house, which is numbered VII on the plans, and in opening out the north gate and excavating the field to the south of it. The gateway had been filled at some later period with capitals, corbel stones, and massive blocks, doubtless from the ruin of some adjoining building. A curious passage or culvert of massive stone slabs leading down to the gate has also been uncovered. The field adjoining the gate contains several buildings, the excavation of which is nearly completed. There is work still to be done on the site of the street or road leading through the gate, which presents some problems of levels: and the outside of the gateway, where the spring of the arch is still visible, has yet to be explored. The Committee therefore have postponed all detailed report of this portion of the work until next year, when it is hoped that the completion of the excavations may have provided a solution of the difficulties.

The two houses (II and VII), of which complete plans and detailed reports were presented to the Society of Antiquaries on January 16th, were of unusual interest. They were both large houses of the courtyard type, but they differed from the type commonly found at Silchester, in having suites of rooms arranged round all four sides of the central court, whereas at Silchester the courtyard type of house usually has rooms on three sides only. The large house at Caerwent (House III), which was described in last year's report, was similar to Nos. II and VII, and a question of some interest is now raised: Was the Caerwent type of house normally different from that of Silchester? and if so, what were the reasons for this difference? Houses II and VII also showed plentiful traces of earlier houses, the walls of which were fully visible under the floors of the later ones. So much, indeed, was this the case that to a large extent it was possible to reconstruct the plans of the earlier houses. In House II a large and very interesting hypocaust was found in which the *pilae*, each formed of a single stone, actually rested on a tessellated pavement (still intact) of the earlier house. This hypocaust was doubly interesting owing to the fact that the floor and the overlying pavement were still *in situ*, and afforded a good example of the method of supporting the floor. A portion of the hypocaust has been removed and re-erected in the temporary museum. The other most important features in this house were a channelled hypocaust and a series of small baths, in one of which the leaden drain-pipe was still to be seen as it passed through the wall. In House VII, the western side of which was adjacent and parallel to the western city wall, another interesting and important problem was raised by the discovery of a mound or bank between the house and the wall. Whether this mound was earlier or later than the city wall cannot yet be definitely decided, but it was certainly accompanied by an interior road, part of which has been overlaid by the walls of the later edition of this house. The mound will be further investigated in this year's work. The chief features of interest in the house itself were a small partially detached building, which may have been a shrine, and two rooms (separated no doubt only by a

curtain when the house was in use) which contained a fine tessellated pavement, in which were busts of the seasons and figures of animals and of cupids. Careful drawings and tracings of this pavement have been made. Underlying this pavement, which was of late and inferior workmanship, was another (of the earlier house) constructed with far more care as to detail and finish. If funds will allow, it is hoped to lift and remove both of these this year. In both these rooms the walls were standing to a height of nearly 3 feet above the floor level, and the plaster on the walls was nearly intact. It was, therefore, fortunately possible to recover to a considerable extent the colour and design of the wall decoration. On one side of the room there were four layers of plaster, and it was found possible to recover the colour and design of some portions of the decoration of the earlier house, and so to compare the earlier and later styles.

Among the various objects found this year, perhaps the most interesting was a small plaque of thin bronze, containing in high relief a female head. This may have been part of the back of a mirror, or, possibly, an ornament from a mirror-case.

It is hoped to resume work early in this summer; but as the funds raised last year have all been expended, and it will be necessary to raise a large sum—at least £300—to enable the Committee to complete the excavation of the nine acres already in their occupation, the Committee therefore earnestly appeal to their subscribers not only to continue their subscriptions, but to obtain as many new subscribers as possible, and so render it possible to carry on this interesting and important work.

Subscriptions for this year should be sent without delay to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. A. E. Hudd, F.S.A., 94, Pembroke Road, Clifton, Bristol.

The detailed report and plans of the work carried out in 1900 have already been issued to subscribers. Further copies can be bought for 2s. 6d. each.

NOTTINGHAM MEETING, 1901.

In the report of the Meeting published in the December *Journal*, 1901, the date of foundation of the Carthusian house of Beauvale is given as 1338, in Lord Hawkesbury's Presidential address (p. 451). The correct date, as Lord Hawkesbury points out, is 1343.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

February 5th, 1902.

Judge BAYLIS, K.C., in the Chair.

Mr. J. H. ROUND read a paper on "Castle Guard," which will be printed in the *Journal*.

VISCOUNT DILLON, P.S.A., followed with a paper on "Horse Armour," which was illustrated by drawings and photographs. The paper is printed at p. 67.

In the subsequent discussion Sir HENRY HOWORTH and Messrs. GREEN and HOPE took part.

March 5th, 1902.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, President, in the Chair.

Professor T. M'KENNY HUGHES, F.R.S., F.S.A., read a paper on "Early Pottery," exhibiting a number of specimens, together with many fragments dug up on the line of the town ditch of Cambridge, which was made in the reigns of John and Henry III. The paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

The PRESIDENT and Messrs. GREG, STEPHENSON, HILTON PRICE, and GREEN took part in the discussion, which turned partly on the question of the late survival of Roman forms, as suggested by Prof. Hughes, and partly on that of the possibility of attributing any existing specimens of pottery to the twelfth century.

Mr. F. G. HILTON PRICE, Dir.S.A., read a paper on "Pawnbrokers' Signs," giving an account of the development of pawnbroking in London, and the origin of the well-known sign of the Three Balls.

Mr. Price's paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF HAILSHAM, THE ABBEY OF OTHAM, AND THE PRIORY OF MICHELHAM. By L. F. SALZMANN. Lewes: Farncombe & Co. Svo. 308 pp. Map and illustrations.

Mr. Salzmann has rendered excellent service to archaeology in this admirable history of an out-of-the-way Sussex parish. His work represents an extraordinary amount of careful study and patient copying of ancient documents rarely met with in these hurrying times. The scope of the history is very comprehensive. Mr. Salzmann gives us the situation and extent of the parish and a general description of the small town as it is to-day, in the form of a perambulation of its streets, in which the dates, ancient owner-ships, and other particulars of the houses are noted. Next the scanty traces of Roman and Saxon occupation and the fuller evidences of Norman and later mediaeval times are dealt with, and the history of the town is continued through the Reformation and Commonwealth periods down to the present day. Local topography and etymology receive their full share of notice, and chapters are devoted to the church, the vicars and other clergy and church-wardens, genealogy, the descent of the manor, and the two religious foundations of Otham and Michelham, within the bounds of the parish. Very valuable appendices and indices complete the work, and sandwiched in between these is a useful glossary of obscure territorial and other terms. The separate indices of names and places are particularly valuable to the student. Among the illustrations are a map of the parish, plans of the church and of Michelham Priory, and a number of excellent reproductions of photographs of the various buildings. Those of Michelham Priory are particularly good.

With so much well selected material packed into the compass of some 300 pages, it is perhaps not surprising that there should be one or two omissions. Among these may be instanced Hellingly Church (just beyond the border of the parish to the north-west), originally the mother church of Hailsham, but now a separate parish. Considering how much the history of the two churches is bound up together, a brief architectural account of Hellingly Church—a building containing older and more interesting features than that of Hailsham—would not have been superfluous. As it is, Mr. Salzmann quotes documentary evidence of the consecration of Hellingly Church by Bishop Seffrid II. (1180–1204), and guesses the date at about 1190. The character of the still existing work in the chancel suggests, however, that it is ten or fifteen years earlier; it is rich round-arched late Norman, with very curious details. There are other features in Hellingly Church which are incidentally referred to as comparing with parts of Hailsham Church and

Michelham Priory, and the comparison would have been more useful had such an account been included. The plans of Hailsham Church and Michelham Priory are very inadequate, and Mr. Salzmann would have done better to employ the services of an architectural friend to put these on paper for him, as he is evidently not himself sufficiently versed in the technicalities of plan-drawing; and the lithographer's rendering of the sections of mouldings verges on the comic. Another small blemish must be pointed out—the insinuation contained in a footnote on page 241 that the visit of the Sussex Archaeological Society to Michelham Priory and the disappearance of some interesting encaustic tiles were not unconnected. It would have been in better taste to omit such an ill-natured suggestion—not Mr. Salzmann's own.

The strong point of the book is the mass of carefully sifted documentary evidence—for the most part printed for the first time—which Mr. Salzmann has brought together, and for which he deserves great credit.

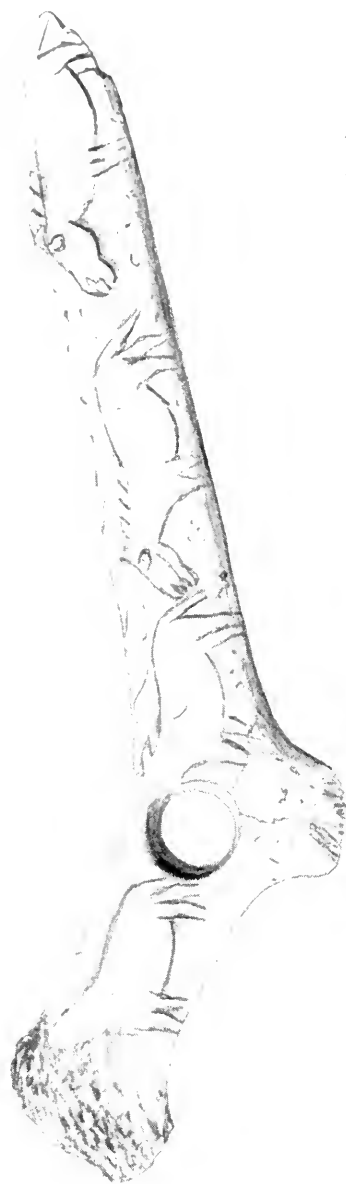


FIG. 1.—BÂTON DE COMMANDEMENT WITH FIGURES OF HORSES ($\frac{1}{2}$). (Coll. Lartet and Christy.)

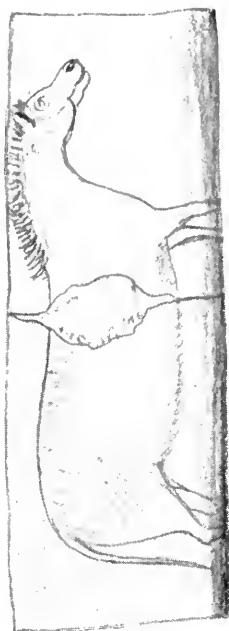


FIG. 2.—DRAWING OF A HORSE ON A PORTION OF REINDEER
HORN FROM KESLERLOCH ($\frac{1}{2}$).

ON THE PREHISTORIC HORSES OF EUROPE AND THEIR SUPPOSED DOMESTICATION IN PALÆO- LITHIC TIMES.

By ROBERT MUNRO, M.A., M.D., LL.D.

During the earlier stages of man's career on the globe nomadic families or tribes, in selecting a temporary place of abode, whether a cave, rockshelter, or hut, would be influenced chiefly by the amount of edible materials to be found in the neighbourhood. As, however, fruits and other natural products came to maturity only at particular seasons of the year their visitations to special localities would be regulated accordingly. For this reason we find primitive races wandering from one locality to another, now gathering fruits and seeds, now hunting wild animals, or, as a last resource, feeding on shell-fish and other produce of the sea-shore. But the most successful of all methods for equalizing and supplementing their precarious food supplies was the result of that happy thought which led them to cultivate grain, and to rear animals, either for their milk, or to be kept alive till such time as they were required for food. It is not necessary to suppose that the practice of domesticating certain animals was a monopoly of any single race, as its advantages are so manifest that they may have been recognized and practised by more than one community independent of each other, just as the llama and alpaca were already in a state of domestication before the discovery of America by Europeans. The onward march of civilization is only partially affected by changes in the environment, so that it is quite possible for two or more branches of the human family to progress on parallel lines, under reasoning faculties derived from a common origin, and to evolve analogous civilizations, without being influenced by each other's ways and means. On a retrospective glance at the successive civilizations which have

flourished in the past, and on the ruins of which modern civilization has been constructed, there are certain great discoveries, bequeathed to us from our early forefathers, which have ever since continued to be, as it were, the backbone of all social communities. Of these outstanding features in the evolution of present humanity agriculture and the domestication of animals are, next to the invention of tools and weapons, the most important.

Before discussing the problem of the domestication of the horse from the stand-point of archaeology, which is the main object of this paper, there are a few interesting facts bearing on the history of that animal to be gleaned from paleontology which, being of a preliminary nature, will be first disposed of.

Paleontological Notes.

From a study of the progressive changes in the limbs of a few extinct genera and species of *Equidae*, the genus *Caballus* can be traced back to an animal having five toes on each foot, which lived in the early tertiary period. From this starting point paleontology demonstrates a succession of species each, as it were, gradually dispensing with the toes on both sides of the middle digit, till, ultimately, the latter alone remained, as is the case with the horse of the present day. The undoubted object of this remarkable specialization of the middle toe was to secure greater speed; but, as the highest limits of perfection were soon reached on this line of development, the horse must now be regarded as a *terminal form of life*. In fact, Nature has inveigled this noble solipede into a *cul de sac* from which it required human intelligence to extricate it—a remark which will be referred to later on. *Pari passu* with these transition stages in the development of the horse since Eocene times, there has been a gradual increase in the size of successive species. The genus *Hipparion* was widely represented in Europe, Asia, and America during Pliocene times; but from this point, probably owing to geological changes, the development of the subsequent horses of the Old and

New Worlds seems to have been independent of each other. Palæontological researches show that on the American continent they continued to flourish abundantly in Quaternary times, as, according to Sir Charles Lyell (*Principles of Geology*, 11th ed., Vol. II, p. 340), remains of no less than twelve species referred to seven genera have been discovered in the Pliocene and Pleistocene formations of that country; but to what extent they resembled, or differed from, those of the Old World I am unable to say. This is a most interesting point in the evolutionary history of the horse, and one which I should like to see handled by some competent palæontologist. To find, however, an exact parallelism in the development of these animals on both sides of the Atlantic would not at all surprise me, because, since the days of the *Hipparion*, there was only one outlet by following which higher efficiency could be attained on the natural lines of horse-development. These lines have been followed, and, for a time, the results were successful. As to the ultimate fate of these American horses the following remarks by Flower and Lyddeker (*Mammals Living and Extinct*, 1891, p. 381) may be quoted with advantage:

“Fossil remains of horses are found abundantly in deposits of the most recent geological age in almost every part in America, from Eschscholtz Bay in the north to Patagonia in the south. In that continent, however, they became quite extinct, and no horses, either wild or domesticated, existed there at the time of the Spanish conquest, which is the more remarkable, as, when introduced from Europe, the horses that ran wild proved by their rapid multiplication on the plains of South America and Texas that the climate, food, and other circumstances were highly favourable for their existence. The former great abundance of *Equidæ* in America, their complete extinction, and their perfect acclimatization when reintroduced by man, form a curious but as yet unsolved problem in geographical distribution.”

As to the causes which led to the extinction of the American horses, I believe a satisfactory explanation will be found in the fact that, after coming to the end of their evolutionary tether in the attainment of speed—the sole means by which they could escape from their enemies—they fell an easy prey to one or more of these enemies, who, meanwhile, had succeeded in improving

their methods of warfare in the struggle of life. Possibly these same victorious enemies may have, in their turn, met with a just retribution, as in devouring the horses—probably their only means of subsistence—they were erecting their own gallows.

Professor Owen has shown (*British Fossil Mammals*) that the fossil remains of the horse, found in ossiferous caverns and Post-Pliocene deposits of Europe, indicate two species. One (*Equus caballus*) was as large as a middle sized horse of the present day; and the other (*Equus plicidens*) was of the size of a large ass, but differing from the former, as well as from the modern horse, in the more complex foliations of the enamel on its molar teeth. The “fossil horse,” he writes, “had a larger head than the domesticated races; resembling in this respect the wild horses of Asia described by Pallas.” Also, after stating that several of the equine teeth from Kent’s cavern indicated a large horse, he adds, “but the size of the fossil species would be incorrectly estimated from the teeth alone.” Of the correctness of these statements by Professor Owen and their agreement with subsequent observations derived from different sources, we shall afterwards have an opportunity of judging. On the other hand, Cuvier and other naturalists declared their inability to detect any specific difference between the fossil horses of Quaternary times and *Equus caballus*. According to their views, all the differences that had been observed could be accounted for by a difference in the size of the animals compared.

Horses of the Palæolithic Period in Europe.

During the Quaternary period wild horses were indigenous to Europe and formed no small portion of the food of its human inhabitants, as well as of some of the larger carnivorous animals which then also inhabited the country. The evidential materials on which this statement is founded are so ample that it will be unnecessary to refer to more than a few selected examples.

Dr. Buckland (*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, 1824, pp. 1–47)

includes the horse among the twenty-three species of animals identified among the bones found in Kirkdale Cave, Yorkshire, but its remains are few in comparison with those of some of the others represented, such as the hyæna, tiger, bear, wolf, elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, ox, deer, etc. Remains of the hyæna, representing from 200 to 300 individuals, were most abundant; and next to them came those of the ox and three species of deer. From such evidence Dr. Buckland came to the conclusion that the cave was the den of hyænas; and, as no complete skeleton of any of the larger animals had been found, he inferred that the hyænas carried their food piecemeal into the cave.

My next example is the well known station of Kent's Cavern, near Torquay, which differs from the former in having been a habitation of man, as well as a retreat for carnivorous animals. Among the animal remains found in this cave, those of the cave-bear, cave-lion, rhinoceros, bison, stag, and reindeer are stated to be abundant; while those of the hyæna and horse are characterized as very abundant. The copiousness of the bones of the horse is probably accounted for by the fact that the animal was most successfully hunted by the human troglodytes who were also in the habit of introducing the produce of the chase into the cave. The implements, tools, and weapons collected, in addition to the food refuse, prove that man's sojourn in Kent's Cavern was of long duration, though not continuous.

From a table published by Professor Boyd Dawkins (*Cave Hunting*, pp. 360-361) of the Pleistocene animals living to the north of the Alps and the Pyrenees, it appears that remains of the horse were found in thirty-one of the forty stations tabulated.

The Palæolithic caverns of Belgium have been so well explored, and the results so systematically arranged, that the anatomical facts bearing on the present inquiry can be mastered with the greatest ease. From a series of tabular statements by M. E. Dupont, published in his special work on the subject (*L'Homme pendant les Âges de la Pierre dans les Environs de Dinant-sur-Meuse*), I have compiled the accompanying abstracts of the prevailing fauna represented in seven of the Belgian caves with

which worked flints and other relics of man were associated.

			Mammoth Period.					Reindeer Period.	
The most abundant animals represented.			Trou du Sarcen, 14 species.	Trou Magrite, 26 species.	Caverne du Goyet 3rd level, 23 species.	Do, 2nd level, 17 species.	Do, 1st level, 18 species.	Trou de Chaleux, 25 species.	Trou des Nutoirs, 27 species.
Reindeer ....	....	....	10	30	20	4	11	3	5
Rhinoceros ....	....	....	4	8	4	2	2	—	—
Mammoth....	....	....	1	3	7	2	3	—	—
Horse ....	....	....	7	17	18	25	14	56	5
Hyæna ....	....	....	8	4	12	7	5	—	—
Cave bear ...	....	....	45	5	26	20	9	—	—
Fox ....	....	....	10	11	3	6	3	16	30
Goat ....	....	....	—	10	2	2	11	6	15
Ox (small size) ....	...	...	—	5	1 ?	3	2	15	2
Wild boar....	....	....	—	3	—	2	2	5	35
Lemming ....	....	....	—	—	—	—	—	60	6

From an inspection of the above statements it will be seen that the horse was one of the most common animals among the cave-fauna, both during the mammoth and reindeer periods; and, as its remains must have been dragged into the caves either by man or one of the great carnivores, it is clear that horses were then numerous in Belgium.

The station of Solutré in the commune of Macon (Saône et Loire) was an open air encampment, having a fine exposure to the south and sheltered on the north by a steep ridge. The remains of the settlement, covering an area of about 10,000 square mètres, are situated just beyond the limits of the cultivated land, and within a short distance of a good spring of water. The site has been partially excavated by MM. Ferry, Arcelin,

Ducrost, Lortet and others, the results of which are published in a number of memoirs, one of the most accessible being that in the Norwich volume of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology (1868). The stage of civilization here disclosed was characterized by great perfection in the art of manufacturing flint implements, especially spearheads in the form of a laurel leaf, and by the abundance of horses and reindeer which then inhabited the country. Human occupancy was indicated by a number of hearths, around which characteristic implements of flint and reindeer-horn were found. The surrounding *débris* consisted almost entirely of broken bones, chiefly those of the horse and reindeer, evidently the remains of animals that had been used as food by the occupants. Encircling the south side the bones of horses were amassed in such an enormous quantity as to form a kind of protective wall to the settlement. According to MM. Ferry and Arcelin, a cubic mètre of this osseous *magma* contained 40 entire canon bones of the horse, and on this basis they calculated the number of individuals represented in the entire mass at 2,122. Others, however, estimated them at a much higher figure, Professor Toussaint, of the Veterinary School at Lyon, bringing the total up to 100,000 at least.

Of the fauna identified at Solutr , besides the horse and reindeer, the following may be mentioned as evidence of the pal olithic character of the station:—*Elephas primigenius* (portions of tusks, teeth, and bones in considerable quantity scattered throughout the *d bris*); *Bos primigenius* (fragments of bones scattered about the hearths); *Cervus Canadensis* (formerly taken for *megaceros*) was identified by M. Dupont, who had frequently found remains of this animal in the Belgian caves; *Ursus arctos* (a tooth and some rib-fragments); *Ursus spel us*, *Canis lupus*, *Canis vulpes*, *Hy na spel a*, etc.

Throughout a portion of the area within the settlement (and also outside of it) there were some human burials, the bodies lying sometimes immediately over the hearths, but generally at various depths in the *d bris*. Here all the materials were greatly disturbed, pottery and

palæolithic implements being so intermingled that at first it was thought the burials were those of the primary occupants of the station; but subsequent research showed that they were of comparatively recent date, probably of Merovingian times. It is unnecessary to say any more on the archaeological phase of this station, as it is only with its remarkable accumulation of horse bones that we are at present concerned. The bones were so broken for extracting the marrow that it was with difficulty a complete skeleton could be constructed for the museum at Lyon.

According to M. Toussaint the horse of Solutr  was of low stature, the average height being from 1.36 m tres to 1.38 m tres. The lower jaws were highly developed, and the teeth were so large that they might readily pass as belonging to animals of much greater size. This relatively large size of the head in proportion to the rest of the body is in striking agreement, as we shall afterwards see, with the engraved figures of horses found in some of the Dordogne caves. The bones of the limbs were strong with large articulations, prominent muscular attachments, and broad hoofs. One noteworthy peculiarity of the leg bones, specially referred to by M. G. de Mortillet (*Le Pr historique*, p. 383), is that the metacarpal and metatarsal vestigial bones were not united to the main bone, as is the case with modern horses—thus establishing an intermediate link between the latter and the *Hipparion*.

In the reports (*Reliqui  Aquitanica*) of the investigations conducted by MM. Lartet and Christy in the caves of the Vez re (Dordogne), the fauna are not so fully described as to show the relative number of the different species. On p. 172, M. E. Lartet enumerates the animals whose bones were found in greatest abundance in the caves of La Madelaine, Laugerie, and Les Eyzies; from which it will be seen that *Equus caballus* heads the list, followed by *Sus scrofa*, *Cervus tarandus*, *C. elaphus*, *C. capreolus*, *Megaceros hibernicus*, etc. but, of course, this may not be the order of their relative abundance. On p. 181, M. Lartet gives lists of the mammalia identified from among the osseous remains found in seven caves of the Vez re, and all of them,

except one, contained remains of the horse. The same author states (p. 94) with regard to the fauna represented in the rock-shelter of Cro-Magnon:—"As for the horse, its remains are the most numerous here at Cro-Magnon, where it must have constituted the chief article of food for the people of the period." We may, therefore, safely conclude that during the reindeer period the horse was by no means a scarce inhabitant of the south-west regions of France.

But, *en revanche* for the deficiency in our knowledge of the fauna of the Dordogne caves we have, in the handicraft products of their inhabitants, another source of information, *viz.* a series of representations of animals (evidently those with which they were familiar in their hunting expeditions) engraved on fragments of bone, ivory, or stone: or, sometimes, sculptured out of bone, or reindeer horn. Since the investigations of MM. Lartet and Christy, similar drawings and sculptures have come to light from a number of other caves throughout France and Switzerland, the whole now culminating in a collection of over 300 specimens illustrating the social life of the period, more especially animals and hunting scenes, the former being portrayed with singular fidelity and artistic skill. Among the animals represented in this remarkable art gallery the horse takes a prominent place. Numerous illustrations of horses, chiefly from La Madelaine, engraved on reindeer horns or bones, are given in *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ* (B. Pl. II, VI-VII, IX-X, XIX-XX, XXIV, and XXX-XXXI), all of which unmistakably represent big-headed animals (Pl. I, Fig. 1), with the exception of one or two which show a small head, sharp muzzle, and long ears. The outlines of a horse (Pl. I, Fig. 2), engraved on a piece of reindeer-horn found in the Kesslerloch cave, near Schaffhausen, and figured by Mr. Konrad Merk (*Excavations at the Kesslerloch*, 1876, p. 50 and Figs. 66, 68, and 70), also show a small-headed animal. It is thus described by Mr. Merk: "The well-formed head—rather long, with small ears—the upright mane, the graceful, well-formed body, the elegant and lightly-formed feet, and especially the remarkably thin tail, reaching nearly to the ground,

represent without doubt a young well-bred animal." This Kesslerloch horse must, therefore, have been a very different animal from the clumsy rough pony, with its shaggy tail and big ugly-looking head, figured on bones and horns from La Madelaine. M. G. de Mortillet suggested (*Matériaux*, 1867, p. 210) that there might have been also a race of horses with very long ears.

These indications of the existence of at least two kinds of horses during the reindeer period, thus brought before us by the art products of the native hunters, as well as by the osseous remains of the actual animals, have been further elucidated by the recent discovery of large engravings, and even coloured paintings, of various animals, on the walls of some newly explored caves in the south of France, more especially those of Combarelles and Font-de-Gaume, both situated in the Commune of Tayac (Dordogne), and within a short distance of the celebrated station of Les Eyzies. Obscure indications of this kind of art had been observed, as early as 1875, in the cave of Altamira, near Santander, in the north-east of Spain. Subsequently, and at various intervals, more decided examples were notified in the caves of Chabot (Gard), La Mouthe (Dordogne), and Pair-non-Pair (Gironde), in all of which figures of horse-like animals occurred, associated with those of other animals regarded as characteristic of the Palæolithic period.

With regard to these earlier discoveries, I have only space for a short notice of two horse-figures engraved on the walls of the cave of La Mouthe (*Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthropologie*, 3rd June, 1st July, 4th and 18th November, 1897; 19th October, 1899; and 17th October, 1901). The exploration of this cave has been conducted by M. E. Rivière, at various periods since 1895, with the happiest results. It seems that about fifty years previously the cave, then presenting an open recess facing south and extending some 12 mètres inwards, had been formed into a kind of store-room by building a wall in front, leaving only a door for access. Its contents, said to contain decayed bones and flint implements, had been utilized as manure. In April, 1895, it was ascertained, for the first time, that the cave was not limited to the space occupied by the store-room,

as on clearing out a small portion of the *débris* still remaining at its inner end a semi-circular opening 0·37 m. in height and 0·62 m. in breadth was discovered. This passage led into wider expansions for some 220 m.

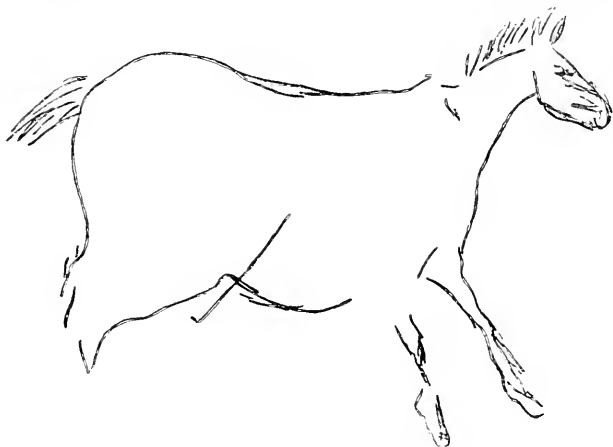


FIG. 1.—SKETCH OF HORSE ENGRAVED ON THE WALL OF THE GROTTÉ DE LA MOUTHE.

further. It was on the walls of this inner portion that the engravings now under consideration were detected. On the 17th October, 1901, M. Rivière laid before the Anthropological Society correct drawings of some of these wall decorations, clearly representing the following



FIG. 2.—HEAD OF A HORSE. (GROTTÉ DE LA MOUTHE.)

animals, *viz.* bison, *borida*, reindeer, goat, mammoth and two *equida*. The figures of these horses were incised on a panel 128 m. from the entrance. The first (Fig. 1) represents an animal with a small head, slender

neck, and well-formed fore-quarters: but the posterior half is heavy and altogether out of proportion. The other (Fig. 2) has a stout neck, a long head directed almost vertically, and a hairy chin. Whatever may have been the defects of the artists, the originals of these two drawings must have been very different animals.

At the outset some doubts were expressed with regard to the authenticity of these rock-engravings, but M. Rivière has successfully dispelled all misgivings on this score by showing, among other evidence, that the figures were partly covered by the *débris* accumulated in the cave: "Cependant ils se prolongeaient aussi sous l'argile rouge qui constitue le sol de la grotte, à partir d'une certaine distance de l'entrée, et dont le niveau supérieur dépasse généralement l'extrémité des pattes des animaux gravés." (*Bulletins*, Vol. VIII, 4th Series, p. 314.) M. Rivière has also shown that the cave had been occupied by man both in the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods, the two strata being separated "par une stalagmite plus ou moins épaisse." Among the Neolithic *débris* were fragments of coarse pottery, and bones of various animals, including the horse, stag, and a small-sized ox.

On the 16th September, 1901, MM. Capitan and Breuil submitted a joint note to the Paris Academy of Sciences on "A New Cave with Wall Engravings of the Palaeolithic Epoch." This was followed, a week later (23rd September), by a second note by the same explorers on "A New Cave with Painted Wall Figures of the Palaeolithic Epoch." A noteworthy distinction in the art illustrations of these two caves is that the one (Combarelles) has its walls adorned, almost exclusively, with engravings cut more or less deeply, and the other (Font-de-Gaume) with paintings in ochre and black, or sometimes only in one colour forming real silhouettes of the animals thus depicted.

The total number of figures in the painted cave (Font-de-Gaume) is 77: aurochs, 49; indeterminate animals, 11; reindeer, 4; stag, 1; *equidae*, 2; antelopes, 3; mammoth, 2; geometrical ornaments, 3; scalariform signs, 2. As, however, these paintings are not yet published we can

form no opinion on the special character of the two *equidae* included in the above list. On the other hand, some of the engravings in the cave of Combarelles have been carefully copied and published (*Académie des Sciences de Paris*, Dec. 9, 1901; *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie*, Jan. 1902); and as they seem to me to have an important bearing, not only on the question of the different kinds of horses, but also on that of their domestication, I shall examine the evidence with some care.

The cave of Combarelles, supposed to be the dried bed of a former subterranean stream, extends, in the form of a serpentine tunnel, to 234 m. in length, with an average breadth of 1 to 2 m.; and a height of 1.60 to 1.75 m. Only exceptionally does the height reach, or go beyond, 2 m., but sometimes it sinks so low that one has to creep to get along. The floor and roof are occasionally so much encrusted with stalagmitic deposits as to modify the original height considerably, but the walls are rarely covered with more than a film, which, in some parts, is absent altogether. The engravings begin at a distance of 118 m. from the entrance and are continued, on both sides, with only slight intervals, for 100 m. to within a few yards of the terminal end of the cavern. The average breadth of these tableaux is 1.50 m. When the reduced drawings were completed and extended on paper they formed a band 12 m. in length and 10 to 12 cm. in breadth. The lines delineating some of the figures are incised up to a maximum depth of 5 to 6 mm., and over them the stalagmitic film sometimes attains such a thickness as to completely mask the design. On the other hand, the incised lines are occasionally made more conspicuous by the addition of a thin band of black paint, as seen in Fig. 3. The figures represent animals in various attitudes, and the style, as well as the manner of execution of the designs, strongly reminds one of the reindeer hunters of La Madelaine and other stations of the later Palæolithic period.

The total number of animals outlined, so far as they could be distinctly made out, is 109: animals entire but not identified, 19; *equidae*, 23; *bovidæ*, 3; bison, 2; reindeer, 3; mammoth, 14; heads of goats, 3; heads of antelopes, 4; heads of various animals, chiefly horses, 36;

human face, 1(!); cup mark, 1. These engravings betray so much artistic skill, precision of details, and knowledge of animal life, that MM. Capitan and Breuil regard them as precise documents in Palæontology. *Equidae* being the most frequent of all animals figured in this cave, no less than 40 illustrations representing at least two species having already been accurately deciphered, archaeologists will be greatly interested to know what the explorers regard as the differential characters of these two species of horses. As this point is important I will quote their exact words :

“ On peut nettement distinguer au moins deux espèces très différentes. Les uns sont de gros chevaux, à crinière ordinairement droite, à quene très fournie, à grosse tête et nez busqué avec lèvres très fortes.

“ D'autres sont beaucoup plus élancés, plus fins ; la tête est petite, la crinière, également droite et courte, arrive jusque sur la tête qui est notablement plus petite, le nez paraît bien plus droit que chez les précédents, enfin la quene est implantée tantôt plus bas, tantôt au contraire plus haut, comme celle des bovidés ; elle est glabre, souvent terminée par une touffe de poils.”

Since the characters of the two kinds of horses, as described in the above extract, are in keeping with the more or less precise evidence to the same effect gathered from other stations of the same period they may be at once accepted as correct.

The above epitome of the results of the investigations of ossiferous caverns, and other analogous deposits, sufficiently proves that horses were very abundant in Britain and Central Europe during the Quaternary period, and that they formed no inconsiderable portion of the food of the people of those regions. The geographical area thus surveyed might have been extended so as to embrace the Iberian peninsula, Eastern Europe, Asia Minor, the regions around the Caspian Sea, as well as other parts of Asia ; but it would be merely adding to the premises without strengthening the conclusions founded on them. It may be here noted that the horse was not an inhabitant of Scandinavia in Palæolithic, or early Neolithic, times, as no remains of this animal have been found in the kjökkenmöddings or peat-bogs of Denmark.

The Supposed Domestication of Horses in Palæolithic Times.

The next problem which claims attention is the supposed domestication of horses during the later portion of the Palæolithic period. The evidence on this question has such wide ramifications that to treat it empirically would be to trifle with a most interesting series of anatomical and archaeological observations which have to be considered before any opinion could be formed on the subject; and for this reason we have to look a little afield.

Ossiferous caverns, from the point of view of their contents, may be divided into two categories, according as they show evidence of having been inhabited by man, or by carnivorous animals, especially the hyæna. In those days man and the hyæna had many common traits in their *modus vivendi*. Both were cave-dwellers. Both preyed on the animal world around them, and when successful in the chase they carried the carcass, or, if too large, portions of it, into their respective retreats. Both were fond of juicy bones, and, to secure the marrow, they broke them. But although they had common objects, their methods of procedure were very different. The hyæna broke bones with his powerful jaws and teeth, and consumed all the spongy and cartilaginous portions, leaving nothing but marrowless fragments. One feature in the process is of some interest, *viz.* that in gnawing certain bones they were always treated by this carnivore in a uniform manner. Dr. Buckland has shown that the residuary part of the lower extremity of the tibia of an ox, given to a Cape hyæna in Wombwell's menagerie, in 1822, was precisely similar to portions of the corresponding bones found in Kirkdale Cave (*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, Pl. XXIII). On the other hand, man broke bones also in a uniform manner by means of stone implements, which implements are often found among the *débris*. Human occupancy can thus be distinguished, not only by the presence of the stone hammers and the manner in which the bones were broken, but by the fact that the general refuse heap often contained some of the

weapons used in the chase; the tools by which these weapons were manufactured; the remains of the hearths at which the troglodytes cooked their food, and around which they practised their marvellous art instincts, etc. The human hunter, when he had to deal with big game, cut up the carcass by detaching the limbs, head, and sometimes a portion of the body; and these he transported to his home. The spine portion appears to have been generally left on the field, as vertebræ are seldom found among the ossiferous *debris* in caves. M. Dupont, after the manner so successfully adopted by M. Steenstrup with regard to the mammalian bones of the kjökkenmöddings, constructed drawings of the skeleton of a horse and a bear, showing in colour the bones or portions of bones found in caves inhabited by man (*Congrès International, etc.*, 1872, Pl. 76 and 77). Another peculiarity of osseous remains, when treated by human carnivores, was that the spongy and cartilaginous portions were not removed, thus presenting a marked contrast to those encountered in the den of the hyæna, and in the kjökkenmöddings. With regard to the latter M. Steenstrup proved, by an ingenious chain of acute observation and deductive reasoning, that the people who formed these refuse heaps were in possession of domestic dogs, which treated the refuse bones much in the same way as the hyæna. Now, as the bones in the Belgian caves inhabited by man were not so treated, we may safely conclude that there were no domestic dogs in those days, at least in that part of Europe. M. Dupont (*Les Temps Préhistoriques en Belgique*, p. 173) makes a curious point with regard to the frequency with which certain caudal vertebræ of the horse were met with. He observes that out of 157 of these bones found in the Trou de Chaleux, 18 were those of the first 4 vertebræ, while 139 were pretty equally distributed among the remaining 9 (the caudal vertebræ of the horse being 13 in number). From these data he infers that the hippophagous hunters were in the habit of cutting off the tails of the captured animals between the fourth and fifth vertebræ and carrying them away, probably as trophies of the

chase, just as the modern huntsman prizes the brush of a fox. The object of all these circumlocutionary details is to show that the horse was hunted and dealt with, when captured, precisely like other wild animals, such as the bear, which has never yet been tamed, and that, consequently, the animal was not then in a state of domestication. This deduction seems to me to be founded on particularly sound evidence; but yet there is considerable difficulty in accepting it as final.

I have already directed attention to the extraordinary abundance of bones of horses and reindeer at Solutré. Now, with regard to the reindeer, though the most useful of all animals of the period to man, it was observed that only the bones of the limbs, head, etc. were represented in the *débris*; while, as regards the horse, those of the entire skeleton were generally present, thus proving that the latter animal was killed in the vicinity of the station, and not on the hunting ground. On this exceptional condition of the horse-remains at Solutré, Prof. Toussaint, in a paper communicated to the French Association for the Advancement of Sciences, held at Lyon in 1873, maintained that the original owners of these bones had been reared in a state of domestication. In support of this theory he stated that the bones indicated few old and still fewer young horses, most of them being from five to seven years of age. But this fact M. Pièrrement (*Les Chevaux dans les Temps Préhistoriques et Historiques*, p. 94) regarded as most convincing evidence against domestication; because in a troop of wild horses it was always the most vigorous adults which occupied the post of danger in the rear, so as to protect the younger and weaker, and hence they were most liable to be caught. Moreover, if these horses were really domesticated and simply reared to be slaughtered as required, it was not necessary to keep them for seven years. At the end of three or four years, the animal was fully developed, and more suitable for food than at a more advanced age. In opposition to M. Toussaint's argument, based on the presence of the spinal vertebræ—the very absence of which in other stations was the chief argument in support of their non-domestication—there is also something to be said. It has been suggested

that, in a district where horses evidently flourished in great numbers, the animals were frequently trapped and caught alive, and being easily cowed, could be readily led to the station by a halter or bridle, so that it was unnecessary to kill them on the hunting ground. Also, M. Carl Vogt (*Bull. de l'Institut Gènevois*, 1869) holds that, without the assistance of the domestic dog, it would be impossible to keep a herd of reindeer or a troop of horses together. But the dog is not among the animals represented by the osseous remains of Solutr .

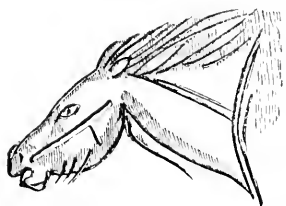


FIG. 3.—HORSE HEAD WITH INDICATIONS OF A BRIDLE ($\frac{1}{10}$).

I now come to discuss the evidence recently advanced by MM. Capitan and Breuil, in favour of the domestication theory, from certain characters and markings observed by them on some of the engravings of horses in the cave of Combarelles. The subject is so important that I must again quote their own words :—

“Plusieurs des  quid s figur s pr sentent des caract res de domestication tr s nets. Le grand  quid  reproduit (Fig. 4), porte sur le dos, comme on le voit facilement, une large couverture avec ornements en forme de dents. Un autre porte  galement une

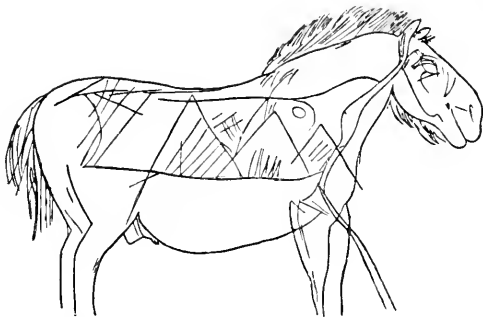


FIG. 4.—ENGRAVING OF A HORSE WITH A SUPPOSED COVER ($\frac{1}{10}$).

couverture tr s nettement repr sent e. Il en est autour du museau desquels il semble qu'il existe une corde, enfin un des trois petits chevaux du groupe ci-dessus (Fig. 5) indiqu  porte—ainsi qu'on peut le voir sur la figure, qui reproduit la t te de cet animal au tiers de grandeur naturelle (Fig. 3)—un chev tre indiqu  avec une pr cision tell qu'il n'y a pas d'erreur possible. Enfin deux animaux portent sur le milieu du corps des signes nettement trac s; sur le flanc d'un

cheval il existe un signe en losange, et un autre animal, qui semble avoir des cornes, porte sur le flanc trois signes qui ont un aspect alphabétique (Fig. 5).

"Il est impossible de ne pas rapprocher cette particularité des figurations grecques archaïques de chevaux portant un nom gravé sur les fesses.

"Il paraît bien vraisemblable qu'il s'agit sur nos bêtes de marques de propriété ou de marques de tribus comme les Wasms en usage chez tous les nomades du Sud algérien." (*Rev. de l'École d'Anthropologie*, p. 39.)



FIG. 5.—SKETCH OF A PORTION OF THE WALL OF COMBARELLES SHOWING DIFFERENT ANIMALS. (About $\frac{1}{30}$ natural size.)

The evidence here adduced in support of the theory that these figures represent horses in a state of domestication is, in my humble opinion, by no means so conclusive as the explorers appear to imagine. It is founded on the supposition that some of the animals are represented as bridled and draped with some kind of ornamental covering; and that other animal figures are marked with well-defined characters, which may possibly turn out to be letters of an alphabet! In face of what has already been said on the probability of the horses of Solutré having been trapped or lassoed, and so cowed in their capture as to be readily led to the hunter's abode, I hesitate to accept these arguments as proof of domestication, at least in the sense in which the term is now used. The wild horses of South America, when lassoed, are quickly tamed there and then by the application of more or less violent measures. If professed horse-tamers of the present day can bring the most spirited and intractable animal into a state of abject docility in a few minutes, why should these wild hunters not do the same? And if they did, what scene could be more reminiscent of success in the chase, or more appropriate to adorn the walls of their sombre retreats, than a captured, subdued, and bridled horse? Moreover, it is difficult to conceive what useful purpose domestic horses

could serve in a community in which hunting was the main source of existence. Had they been utilized for riding we would undoubtedly, ere now, have had an equestrian representation of the fact, either among the varied assortment of objects in the paleolithic art gallery, or among the scenes of animal life, so fortuitously brought to light in the caves of Combarelles, La Mouthe, and others. The supposed horse-cover represented by Fig. 4 may be nothing more than the hunter's skin coat thrown over the back of the animal, when led home by means of a halter made of thongs or withes to be there slaughtered. But seeing we have as yet only a preliminary instalment of these most interesting art productions, it is better to postpone further criticism until all the materials are issued.

The history of the Quaternary horses of the Old World is differentiated from that of their contemporary congeners in the New World by the fact that the former lived in a country where human intelligence was becoming a dominant factor in the organic world. The outcome of man's experience of the many excellent qualities of horses, whether gained during his early hunting scenes, or subsequently, was to enlist the services of these useful animals in the cause of human civilization by bringing them into a permanent state of domestication. The far-reaching consequences of this friendly alliance are now so manifest that the very idea of eliminating the co-operation of horses from human affairs would be like sapping the foundations of a building. As a *quid pro quo* for wild liberty, the horse has received a guarantee of the indefinite prolongation of its existence as a species. In consequence of this new lease of life the geographical range of the numerous breeds of domestic horses is now almost coextensive with that of man himself. On the other hand, there is every reason to believe that, without the fostering care and protection of man, the Old World horses would, ere now, have met with a fate similar to that which overtook those of the New World. As to the time when horses became permanently domesticated, there are different opinions held. Some archæologists, as I have just explained, assign it to the Quaternary hunters of Europe.

Others maintain that the horses of the Palæolithic period gradually died out in Europe, and that the country was restocked in the Neolithic period by immigrants who imported domestic horses, along with the other domestic animals, from eastern regions. But these questions fall more naturally to be discussed in the next section, which deals with horses in Neolithic times.

Horses of the Neolithic Period in Europe.

In following the footsteps of the horse through the Neolithic period in Europe we have to deal with a remarkable transformation, not only as regards the climate, flora, and fauna of the country, but in the *modus vivendi* of man himself. It is difficult to account for the precise cosmical conditions which in Quaternary times led to the intermingling, on the same geographical area, of such different animals as the mammoth, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, Irish elk, cave-bear, hyæna, reindeer, horse, etc. But whatever may have been the explanation, whether interglacial genial periods, or great extremes of temperature in the summers and winters, it is certain that subsequent climatal alterations taxed the life-capacity of these strangely assorted animals to a degree which ultimately became unbearable. As the glacial period passed away the climate became ameliorated and more humid, a change indicated by the prevalence of fruit trees, cereals, and herbaceous growths. Coincident with these physical changes in Britain and Central Europe there was a general dispersal of the characteristic fauna of the Palæolithic period. Some betook themselves to more congenial climates, according as they inherited northern or southern proclivities, while a third group disappeared altogether off the stage of life. Nor were the consequent changes in the ways and means of human economy less radical. We have just had one or two glimpses of the old troglodyte-hunters of France, armed with weapons of stone and horn with which they hunted the reindeer, horse, and other wild animals. They manufactured fine needles of bone with which they sewed their skin garments. They were fond of ornament, and adorned their persons with a variety of beads and

pendants made of teeth and coloured pebbles. They were skilful artists, and they have left behind them a collection of engravings and sculptures which bear a favourable comparison with analogous productions of the present day. But of agricultural operations, the rearing of domestic animals, the principles of religion, and the arts of spinning, weaving, and making pottery, they appear to have been absolutely ignorant. On the other hand, the Neolithic inhabitants of the same regions cultivated fruits, wheat, barley, and other cereals; they reared in a state of domestication oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, and dogs; they were skilled in the ceramic art and manufactured cloth by spinning and weaving wool and fibrous textures; they ground their stone implements and tools, so as to give them sharp cutting edges; in hunting wild animals they used the bow and arrows, the latter being tipped with a sharp piece of flint; they built houses both for the living and for the dead, and their religious ideas were highly developed. But of the artistic taste and skill of their predecessors they had not a vestige, and whatever they did, by way of ornament, consisted of a few linear scratches arranged in some simple geometrical figures. The fundamental principles of these two civilizations are so incompatible that the Neolithic in its most flourishing stage, such as we see it among the Lake dwellers of Switzerland, cannot be regarded as a local derivation from the latest phase of the Palæolithic, without the application of some strong moulding influences of external origin. The former had therefore its birth and early growth in outside areas, and it is quite probable that, while the isolated reindeer hunters of Central Europe were still in existence, people elsewhere were already passing through the evolutionary stages which connected the two civilizations to the common stem line of human progress, and enabled an increasing population to live under the changed conditions of their environment.

For a long time archæologists could offer no better explanation of the striking contrast between the two civilizations than by supposing that they had been separated by a long interval of time—a *hiatus*—during which Western Europe ceased to be inhabited. But

this idea is now generally discarded, and already what seems to be a true epoch of transition has been disclosed by a number of investigations which show that the two races had come in contact, and become partly amalgamated. Such investigations can only be referred to here very briefly.

MM. Cartailhac and Boule (*La Grotte de Reilhac, Lyon*, 1889), inform us that the animals represented in the upper strata in the cave of Reilhac (*Causses du Lot*), *viz.* dog, horse, ox (*Bos taurus*), sheep, pig, roe and red deer, are precisely the same species as are to be found in stations of the Neolithic period. So also are those represented in the lower strata, with the exception of the reindeer and hyæna. But it is noteworthy that while the remains of the reindeer were relatively few, those of the stag were very abundant, so much so as to be considered the most characteristic animal of this cave. The contemporaneity of the hyæna was inferred from gnawed bones, which were met with only in the lowest portion of the *débris*. The osseous remains indicated two varieties of the horse, one large and the other small, but they showed no evidence of domestication. The complete disappearance of the arctic group of animals and the increasing abundance of remains of the stag, together with a corresponding scarcity of those of the reindeer, justified the explorers in dating the habitation of the cave of Reilhac to the very end of the Quaternary period.

In the rock-shelter of Mas-d'Azil (Ariège), M. Piette has described certain deposits (4 feet in depth), resting immediately on a stratum with relics characteristic of the Magdalenian, or latest Palæolithic period, but beneath another containing relics equally characteristic of the Neolithic period, which he regards as the *débris* of a transition period between the two civilizations. As I have elsewhere (*Prehistoric Problems*, p. 60 *et seq.*) given a short account of the evidence adduced by M. Piette, it is unnecessary to enter here on the details, more than to mention the animals which the author regards as belonging to that period, *viz.* stag, wapiti, roebuck, chamois, ox, horse, wild boar, badger, beaver, wolf, common bear, rat, some birds, fishes, and snails.

Grains of wheat and a variety of seeds and fruit stones were also identified. Some of the relics were of novel types, such as barbed harpoons made of stag-horn, and water-worn pebbles of quartz or schist, some showing usage marks at one end, and others various devices painted on them with peroxide of iron.

In the station of Campigny (Seine Inférieure) remains of huts, coarse pottery, and bones of the ox, stag, and horse were found, thus showing a still nearer approach to Neolithic civilization (see *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie*, December 15th, 1898). According to French archaeologists its remains (as well as those from a number of other analogous stations) belong to the last phase of the transition period and are regarded as crude imitations of the industrial products of the Neolithic immigrants, before the two races became finally amalgamated.

On a former occasion (July 19th, 1898), in addressing the members of the Institute, I advanced some remarkable evidence on the continuity of human existence in Switzerland since Palæolithic times, founded on the discoveries and researches of Dr. Nüesch in the rock-shelter of Schweizersbild (see *Journal*, Vol. LV, pp. 259-285).

It will be observed that of the principal animals which figured in the hunting scenes of Palæolithic times, man and the horse are almost the only two that survived and manifested a feeble existence during the transition period in Western Europe. The reindeer, owing to the change in climate and the increase of forest growths, emigrated to more northern regions, whither it was followed, according to some writers, by a portion of the old hunting population. The individuals of this species which found their way into Britain, while the island was connected with the continent, were caught, however, in a trap by the intervention of the strait of Dover and instinctively receded northwards till they reached Caithness, where they became extinct only about the twelfth century. The place of the reindeer in Europe was taken up by the red-deer, which now began to be very numerous. The urus survived to historic times, but this animal does not appear to have been very abundant

at any time. The alterations in the physical and climatal conditions of Europe were also affecting the welfare of its indigenous horses, with the result that they also were receding more and more to the open and more congenial steppes of Asia, where a few of their descendants are said to survive to the present day. There are, however, potent reasons for supposing that, within the British Isles, and probably in some other parts of Europe, they actually became extinct for a short time during early Neolithic times, and that their reappearance in these countries was as domestic animals. While the remnant of the old hunters of the days of big game who still lived in France were struggling to adapt themselves to the new conditions of life, and to make a living on such of the smaller wild animals—probably greatly increased in numbers after the disappearance of the great carnivores—as found a congenial habitat in the mild climate and rich vegetation which then obtained, they came in contact with the Neolithic civilization which slowly reached them partly from Asia and partly from Mediterranean sources. The question which now arises is—Was the horse among the domestic animals of the indigenous people who had thus become pastoral and agricultural farmers? Or was it a later addition to the number of subjugated animals and imported through the Asiatic immigrants? The opinions held on this problem are somewhat contradictory; but the arguments, *pro et con*, are too discursive to be now fully dealt with. I shall therefore content myself by stating categorically the opinions of one or two of the leading authorities on the subject.

Rütimeyer (*Die Fauna der Pfahlbauten in der Schweiz*, 1861, p. 122), expresses the opinion that the inhabitants of the earliest lake-dwellings were not in possession of the domestic horse. He contrasts the few horse bones found on some of the older sites, such as Wangen (a tooth), Moosseedorf (a metatarsal bone), Robenhausen (a tarsal bone), and Wauwyl (a few bones), with their abundance on the Bronze Age stations.

M. Dupont in discussing the fauna of the Neolithic period in Belgium says: "A number of species of the preceding age have emigrated. The reindeer and the

glutton have taken refuge in the polar regions ; the wild goat, chamois, and marmot, on the elevated mountains of Central Europe ; the antelope, saïga, and probably the horse, on the boundaries of Europe and Asia." (*Les Temps Préhistoriques en Belgique*, p. 216.)

On the other hand, M. Pièturement holds that the indigenous people of France—the direct descendants of those of Palæolithic times—as soon as they came under the influence and instruction of the dolmen-builders derived their domestic animals from the wild stocks of the country, among which he includes the horse. He contends that the domestic animals introduced by the Neolithic races—ox, sheep, goat, pig, dog, and horse—were not in sufficient numbers to supply the whole of Europe. The idea of domesticating animals would, therefore, according to this author, come into Western Europe through the incoming Neolithic people who hailed from eastern lands. (*Les Chevaux dans les Temps Préhistoriques et Historiques*, 1883, p. 134).

Professor Rolleston, F.R.S., having before him the results of Canon Greenwell's researches in the British barrows, makes the following statement :—

"I have never found the bones or teeth of a horse in a long barrow, and I would remark that, whilst such bones are very likely to be introduced into such barrows in the way of secondary interments, I have not met with any exact record as to the finding of them in surroundings which left no doubt as to their being contemporaneous with the primary interments. The bones of the horse are both durable and conspicuous, and it is difficult to think that if the Neolithic man had used the animal either for purposes of food or for those of carriage, as his predecessors and successors did, we should not have come upon abundant and unambiguous evidence of such use." (*British Barrows*, p. 736.)

Lord Avebury also gives expression to a similar opinion :—

"Remains of the horse are very rare in English barrows, and I know no well authenticated case of their occurrence in a long barrow. I have thought, therefore, that it might be of interest to point out the class of graves in which bones or teeth of horses were found. In Mr. Bateman's valuable works there are, altogether, twenty-eight cases, but of these, nine were in tumuli which had been previously opened, and in one case no body was found. Of the remaining eighteen, five were tumuli containing iron, and seven were accompanied with bronze. In one more case, that of the 'Liffs,' it is doubtful whether the barrow had not been disturbed.

Of the remaining six tumuli, two contained beautiful drinking vessels, of a very well marked type, certainly in use during the Bronze age, if not peculiar to it; and in both these instances, as well as in a third, the interment was accompanied by burnt human bones, suggestive of dreadful rites. Even, however, if these cases cannot be referred to the Bronze age, we still see that out of the two hundred and ninety-seven interments only sixty-three contained metal, or about twenty-one per cent., while out of the eighteen cases of horses' remains, twelve, or about sixty-six per cent., certainly belonged to the metallic period. This seems to be *prima facie* evidence that the horse was very rare, if not altogether unknown, in England during the Stone age. Both the horse and bull appear to have been sacrificed at graves during later times, and probably formed part of the funeral feast. The teeth of oxen are so common in tumuli, that they are even said by Mr. Bateman to be 'uniformly found with the more ancient interments.' (*Prehistoric Times*, 4th ed., p. 174.)

Professor Boyd Dawkins thus writes :—

"From this outline it is clear the domestic animals were not domesticated in Europe, but that they had already been under the care of man probably for long ages in some other region. The turf-hog, the Celtic short-horn, the sheep, and the goat must have been domesticated in the countries in which their wild ancestors were captured by the hunter in Central Asia. To this region also belong the jackal, the wild boar, and the wild horse, and in ancient times the mrus. It is therefore probable that all these domestic animals came into Europe with their masters from the south-east—from the Central Plateau of Asia—the ancient home of all the present European peoples." (*Early Man in Britain*, 1880, p. 300.)

Before coming to any decision on these conflicting opinions it will be as well to inquire if the historical annals can throw any further light on the problems at issue.

Historical Evidence on the Domestication of the Horse.

That no representation of horses is to be found on any of the monuments of the Nile valley, prior to the eighteenth dynasty, seems to have been overlooked by Egyptologists till the year 1869, when Professor Owen, in the course of a visit to the country, drew attention to it (see Lenormant, *Les Premières Civilisations*, Vol. II, p. 299). However that may be, the fact is of great significance, and quite in harmony with a passage in Genesis (chap. xlvii, v. 17), where we are informed that Joseph, then administrator of the country, gave the people "bread in exchange for horses, etc." As the

invaders, known as Hyksos or Shepherds, entered Egypt from the north, it is probable that they first introduced the domestic horse into the Nile valley, but, being a simple pastoral people, and not given to erecting monuments, they left little evidence of their presence in the country, though they are said to have governed it for 500 years. That the Shepherd Kings were in power during the time of Joseph seems almost certain from the instructions given by him to his brethren, as to what they should say when they came before Pharaoh, "Ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we, and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." (Genesis, chap. xlv, v. 34.) At a later period Egyptian horses became famous, as we find King Solomon not only using them exclusively for his army and household, but also importing them for the neighbouring kings of the Hittites and Syria. Also, in pictorial representations of battles on monuments of the eighteenth dynasty and onwards, war-chariots drawn by a couple of prancing steeds play a conspicuous part.

In Greece, the earliest indications of domestic horses are the sculptured war-chariots on the famous tombstones at Mycenæ, which cannot be dated later than 1200 B.C. Though the Mycenæan chariots have only four spokes in their wheels, while those on the Egyptian monuments have six, they have otherwise so many elements in common as to suggest that the early Greeks derived their knowledge of horses, either direct from Egypt, or through the Semitic peoples of Asia Minor. According to Schrader (*Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryans*, 1890, p. 260) the art of riding was practised neither by the Greeks of Homer nor by the Hindus of the Rigveda. This use of the animal he supposes to have originated with Turko-Tartaric races. The terms for riding in the Indo-European languages not only differ from one another, but are apparently of recent date. There seems to be no doubt, if we can depend on the deductions of philologists, that the primitive Aryans were acquainted with the horse, but whether the animal was domesticated or wild it is difficult to say. There is

no evidence to show that they used horses for riding or driving, but they may have bred them for food.

From Cæsar we learn that another branch of the Celtic people, *viz.* those inhabiting Britain, made use of war-chariots, a custom which probably reached them during the "Late Celtic" period, though, strange to say, the author makes no mention of this mode of fighting among the Gauls. Livy, however, informs us (X, 28-29) that the Gauls had one thousand chariots in their army at the battle of Sentinum (295 B.C.). That the Celts of the early La Tène period in France and Switzerland used war-chariots is proved by the discovery of several sepulchral tumuli containing the remains of a warrior associated with a chariot, horses, and military accoutrements. Similar interments have also been occasionally met with in British barrows of the "Late Celtic" period (*Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 133). From an incidental remark in Cæsar (*Alexandrian War*, chap. 75), it appears that the soldiers of Pharnaces, King of Pontus, used scythed chariots at the battle of Zela. Herodotus (V, 9), says of the horses of the Sigynnæ that they "are shaggy all over the body, to five fingers in depth of hair: they are small, flat-nosed, and unable to carry men; but when yoked to chariots they are very fleet, therefore the natives drive chariots." It has also been shown, both from monumental and linguistic evidence, that the domestication of the horse has long been established among the Persians, Assyrians, and Semites.

To what extent and in what regions wild horses survived to historic times it is difficult to determine. According to Herodotus (IV, 52), wild white horses grazed on the shores of a vast lake in Scythia, from which the Hipanis flows. Pliny (VIII, 16), in his description of the animals of the north, mentions herds of wild horses; and Strabo (III, iv, 15, and IV, vi, 10), records their existence in Spain and the Alps. But these, as well as the reported herds of wild horses in Asia in the present day, may have been domestic animals which had escaped and reverted to a wild condition.

In contrasting the early distribution of the horse with

that of the ass. I find that, while the former was imported into Egypt some eighteen hundred years before the Christian era, the latter was known from time immemorial, not only throughout the Nile valley but also in Palestine, Assyria, and probably elsewhere in Asia. As a riding animal for persons of distinction it is represented on an Egyptian monument of the fifth dynasty, some 5000 B.C. In the Book of Genesis wealth is always computed by so many heads of camels, asses, sheep, and oxen. In Homer the ass is only once mentioned, and it is not considered to have been domesticated at that time in Greece. It seems, therefore, that while the line of distribution of the horse was from north to south, that of the ass was in a contrary direction. Both animals, however, found their way into Western Europe in a state of domestication probably about the same time. From the historical point of view everything points to the fact that one or more of our domestic horses emanated from Central Asia.

Concluding Remarks.

After careful consideration of the bearing of the above facts and opinions on the problem of the domestication of the horse I still find it difficult to formulate very precise conclusions on the subject. During the interval between the latest phase of the Palæolithic, and the most flourishing of the Neolithic, civilization, horses became greatly diminished in number throughout Europe; and it is now almost impossible to determine whether the few horse remains recorded during that period belonged to a domestic or wild breed. In these circumstances the following general statements can only be regarded as tentative and problematical:

(1) At least two species of *equidae* were contemporary with man during the Palæolithic period in Western Europe, and formed a considerable portion of his aliment; but whether these horses were latterly in a state of domestication is a controverted problem. In face of the evidence now advanced by MM. Capitan and Breuil in favour of the domestication theory, it

may be advantageous to recall M. Steenstrup's opinion on the origin of the domestic animals. After examining the osseous remains of the ox, goat, and pig found in the Belgian caverns associated with those of the mammoth and reindeer, the Danish *savant* maintained that they presented no special osteological characters by which they could be differentiated from those of the corresponding domestic animals of Neolithic times. Hence he argued that either the domestication of these animals must be relegated back to the Palæolithic period, or the Palæolithic period must be much more recent than is generally supposed (*Congrès International, etc.*, 1872, p. 212 *et seq.*). In connection with this point it may be observed (see table, p. 114), that the small species of ox and the wild pig became prominent among the European fauna only towards the close of the Palæolithic period (Reindeer period of Dupont), and that the sheep, which is probably of eastern origin, scarcely appears among deposits of human food refuse till the most flourishing stage of the Neolithic civilization.

(2) When dealing with the problem of the domestication of animals, based on the archaeological materials collected during the Swiss lake-dwelling researches, I thus expressed my views :

“That continued attention was paid to the rearing and breeding of domesticated animals during the Bronze age is attested by their osseous remains, which have been critically examined by such competent authorities as Rüttimeyer, Studer, Uhlmann, and others. While the lake-dwellers of the earlier Stone age had only as domestic animals one small species of dog, a small ox, a horned sheep, and the goat, we find that towards the end of this period and during the succeeding Bronze age not only new and large breeds were developed, but another was added to the list, *viz.* the horse. From the remains of the domestic horse found at Moeringen and elsewhere it appears to have been a small and slender-limbed animal with small hoofs, and altogether much inferior to the wild horse as hunted and eaten by the cave men of Palæolithic times, from which it is supposed to have been a direct descendant. When the Aar canal was being excavated the bones of the smaller or domestic horse were found associated with bronze objects in no less than nine different localities, all of which agree with the above characteristics. The horse of the *terremare*, according to Professor Strobel, presents the same characters as that of the Swiss lake-dwellings, and as we have already seen from the bridle-bits and other horse trappings, there can be no doubt it was also in a state of domestication. I may also mention that a skull found at Auvèrnièr was believed

by Rütimeyer, after most careful deliberation, to be that of the ass. Professor Strobel has also recognized the osseous remains of the ass in the terremare. (*Bulletino di Pal. It. An. VIII.*) The sheep diverged considerably from its earlier form, and lost much of its goat-like appearance, being now larger, and developed into various breeds. Still more varied were the breeds of cattle, especially in the vicinity of the lakes of Bienné and Neuchâtel. The *Bos primigenius* appears to have been tamed and crossed with the earlier type, giving rise to a variety of breeds, such as *troceros* and *frontosus*, one of which had wide branching horns, as is proved from its remains found at Concise, Chevroux, Locras, etc. The small dog of the Stone age (*Canis domesticus palustris*, Rüt.) gave place to a much larger kind, somewhat resembling our modern greyhound. The domestic pig also appears to have passed through various evolutionary phases: but the wild boar still retained its individuality intact. Dr. Uhlmann, in his report on the osseous remains from the Grosser Hafner at Zürich, describes three varieties of the pig, as well as three of cattle." (*Lake Dwellings of Europe*, p. 535.)

(3) Seeing, therefore, that wild stocks of the ox, goat, pig, horse, and dog, from which the corresponding domestic animals could have been derived, did exist in Europe in pre-Neolithic times, there seems to be no inherent improbability in the idea that some of them had been domesticated by the indigenous inhabitants prior to the incoming of the Neolithic brachycephals into France. There is, indeed, every reason to believe that while the early Lake-dwellers—probably among the first of these eastern immigrants—were constructing their lacustrine habitations, the Dolmen-builders were already in possession of the whole of Western Europe and living under a Neolithic civilization derived from sources altogether independent of the Aryan brachycephals. If this be so, then we must considerably modify the view hitherto upheld by archæologists, *viz.* that the culture and civilization of the Neolithic age were exclusively introduced into Europe by the successive waves of so-called Aryans from Asia. That, however, these immigrants reared animals in a state of domestication which were originally derived from Asiatic wild species is probable, as it satisfactorily accounts for the numerous breeds and varieties of domestic animals which subsequently obtained among European nationalities.

(4) But, it may be asked, who were these Dolmen-builders? According to the best of my judgment they

were mainly the descendants of the first Palæolithic inhabitants, who entered Europe, along with a batch of African animals, when the country was connected with North Africa by at least two extensive land tracts, one through Italy, Sicily, and Tunis, and the other across the Strait of Gibraltar. These people lived ever since in various selected localities throughout Europe, during which the country passed through some striking changes in climate and in the geographical distribution of land. The disappearance of the Euro-African land bridges across the Mediterranean was an important physical event, as it cut off a southern retreat to both men and animals. But, like migratory birds who instinctively follow the lines of old land routes, though long obliterated by intervening seas, these "Eurafrican" peoples kept up their original sources of relationship until the art of navigation facilitated better means of intercourse. As the herds of wild horses and reindeer, and other animals, on which the Palæolithic hunters chiefly depended for their living, gradually died out, necessity compelled them to find other means of subsistence. In the regions to the north of the Pyrenees, owing to the continued survival of their favourite animals in this part of France, long after they disappeared elsewhere in Europe, these Palæolithic hunters existed as isolated groups till they became absorbed among people possibly belonging to their own race, who meantime had adapted themselves to the Neolithic methods and customs which reached them from Mediterranean sources of culture. In the extreme west of Europe we find in the kitchen-middens of Mûgem, in the valley of the Tagus, evidence of a people, probably as old as the reindeer hunters of France, who lived largely on shell-fish. According to M. Ribeiro (*Congrès International*, etc., 1880, p. 287) they did not possess any of the domestic animals, but yet, among their food refuse, bones of the following genera were identified: *Bos*, *Cervus*, *Ovis*, *Equus*, *Sus*, *Canis*, *Felis*, etc. Professor Sergi's hypothesis of a "Mediterranean race" seems to me to offer the best solution of the ethnological problems of Western Europe.

(5) As I have elsewhere discussed the ethnology of

Britain (*Prehistoric Scotland*, Chap. XII) it is unnecessary now to say more than that the primary Dolmen-builders of the British Isles belonged to the same dolichocephalic "Iberian," or "Mediterranean," race just mentioned above. It would also appear, according to the opinion of the most competent archaeologists, that the horse was not among their domestic animals until the Bronze age; but whether the animal was then domesticated from a still surviving indigenous wild stock, or imported from the continent by the first Celtic immigrants, there is no available evidence to show. Since then the frequency with which broken horse bones are found in the later tumuli, and among the food refuse on Roman and Romano-British sites, proves that horseflesh was largely utilized as food by the inhabitants of Britain until it was forbidden by the Church, in the latter part of the eighth century, because it was eaten by the Scandinavian people in honour of Odin. It appears, however, that the deeply rooted prejudice against the use of the horse as a source of human food, which prevails in modern times, was only gradually acquired; as it is recorded (see *Care Hunting*, p. 133) that the Monks of St. Gall not only ate horseflesh in the eleventh century, but returned thanks for it in a metrical grace as follows:

"Sit feralis equi caro dulcis sub cruce Christi."

The wild horses here referred to, and others mentioned in early chronicles, are supposed to have been domestic animals which escaped and reverted to a semi-wild condition. How long the British people continued to disregard the prohibitive epistles against the use of horseflesh issued by Popes Gregory III. and Zacharias I., it is, of course, impossible to say. (See Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, *Lettres sur les Substances Alimentaires et particulièrement sur la Viande de Cheval*, Paris, 1856.) Bones belonging to a large and small kind of horse were identified by Professor Rolleston among some animal remains sent to him from the crannog of Llangorse Lake. The same authority identified the shoulder blade of a small horse among the contents of a box of bones from the Lochlee crannog. According to Dr. Traquair,

F.R.S., the horse was scantily represented in a collection of bones from the Elie kitchen-midden, the date of which was otherwise ascertained to be the seventh or eighth century. (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 284-300.) It would thus appear that the presence of remains of the horse in any of the food-refuse heaps, so often found associated with early inhabited sites in Britain, such as crannogs, hill-forts, motes, etc., has a certain chronological value in dating that particular habitation to a period not later than the twelfth century.

CASTLE GUARD.

By J. H. ROUND, M.A.

Of all the distinctive features of the feudal system in England none was more venerable and none more strangely persistent than the burden of castle guard.

We read even in *Domesday Book* of a manor being bound to find "Loricati in custodia de Windesores," that is to say, knights for the guard of Windsor castle; and in the *Abingdon Chronicle* it is specially stated that the abbey was called on by the Conqueror to provide knights for the guard of Windsor Castle.¹ The same chronicle contains a writ of King Stephen relating to this duty of the abbey.²

Passing from the south to the north of England, we find the barony of Bywell, held by the Baliols, charged with finding thirty knights for the guard of Newcastle-on-Tyne, it having been so granted, we read, by William Rufus³; and in the next reign an important entry reminds us that the guard of Norwich Castle was partly provided by the knights of Ely.⁴

And this feudal burden of castle guard was no less persistent than ancient, for, owing to its commutation for money, it continued to exist when the castles themselves had long crumbled into ruin.⁵ This was decided in a

¹ "Huic abbatiae militum exebias apud ipsum Wildesore oppidum habendas regio imperio jussum" (II, 3).

² II, 183.

³ *Testa de Nerill*, p. 392, "Hugo de Baillol tenet in capite de domino Rege baroniam de Bywelle cum pertinenciis per servicium v militum. Et tamen debet ad wardam Novi Castelli super Tynam xxx milites. Omnes vere antecessores sui tenuerunt per eadem servicia post tempus domini regis Willelmi Rufi qui eos feoffavit."

⁴ "Et idem Episcopus Elyensis reddit Computum de M libris ut Milites Episcopatus de Ely faciant Wardam suam in Insula de Ely sicut faciebant in castello de Norwic" (*Rot. Pip.*, 31 Hen. I. [1130], p. 44). Compare *Monasticon*, III, 153 (No. xv).

⁵ Good examples of payment for castle guard under Henry VII. will be found in the valuable *Calendar of Inquisitions*, published by the Public Record Office. In Vol. I, we have payments from Stanwell to Windsor (p. 13), Little Wymondley to Craven (p. 14), Sealesho and Islington to Dover (pp. 15, 16), Butlers in Basilston to Bishop's Stortford (p. 43), Clothall to Dover (pp. 51, 507), Southbury in East Hamney to Windsor (p. 53), Morton Pinkeney to Windsor (p. 130), Claverham, Bowley, and Horsey to Pevensy (p. 182), Ruxley to Dover (pp. 184, 470), Tiled Hall inatchingdon to Dover (p. 222); from Wimpole to Cambridge (p. 241), Throwley to Dover (p. 30), and Alfriston to Pevensy (p. 305).

case referred to by Sir William Chauncy, who tells us in his *History of Hertfordshire* that Sir William Capel, who purchased the manor of Hadham Hall—

“held it of the Bishop of London as of his Castle of Stortford in this County, by Homage, Fealty, and to pay 40s. Escuage, and if more, more, and if less, less, and by the yearly rent of 5s. for Castle Guard to be paid at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, and by the yearly rent of 13s. and 4d. for the Sheriff's Aid at the four Feasts of the year; and upon a Replevin brought by Sir William Capel upon a Distress for arrear of Rent for Castle Ward for three years, it was resolved upon a Demurrer by the Judges¹ that though the Castle was ruinous and decayed, yet the Rent remains; for when the Tenant holds of the Lord to keep or repair his Castle, and afterwards, in old time, such service was changed by the mutual consent of the Lord and Tenant into a yearly Rent, yet such Rent is paid *pro Warda Castri* in satisfaction of Castle Guard, for in such case the Word *pro* signifies plain and perpetual Recompense and Satisfaction, so that the Lord may have Castle Guard when he pleases, for the Seizin of Rent is no seizin of Castle Guard.”

I make the date of this decision to be in or about the year 1508.

But even when feudal burdens were abolished at the Restoration (12 Charles II., cap. 24), castle guard remained in force as a charge on the manors from which it was due. I give in an appendix a curious list of the castle guard rents of Windsor, derived from so unlikely a quarter as the Journals of the House of Commons for the year 1700; and it is almost startling to find, as we do, that even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, ejectments were served on the owners of certain estates in Kent for non-payment of their castle guard rents to the owner of Rochester Castle. This we learn from an important passage in Hasted's *History of Kent* (II, 413-414), quoted on the next page.

I would invite attention to the antique character of the penalty for default, and to the fact that the rents were payable on St. Andrew's day, old style; for St. Andrew was the patron saint of Rochester. The Kentish manor of Swanscombe, which was the head of the system, gave name to that barony of “Swaneschamp,” or “Swainscamp,” which occurs frequently in mediæval records and the descent of which is of much interest.

¹ A marginal reference cites “Co. 4 recept., fo. 88, Luttrell's Case.”

Hasted writes as follows :

“The manor of Swanscombe, as well as that of Combe in this parish, holden of Rochester Castle, owed service towards the defence of it, the owner of Swanscombe being, as it were, one of the principal captains to whom that charge was anciently committed, and there were subject to this manor several knights’ fees, as petty or subordinate captains, bound to serve under his banner there. (Lambard, *Peraambulation*, p. 530.)”

“These services have long since turned into annual rents of money. The following is a list of these manors and lands which were held by *castle guard*, and now pay rents in lieu of it :

Luddesdown manor (Luddesdon).
 Ryarsh manor (Ryarsh).
 Delce magna (Great Delce).
 Addington manor (Addington).
 Cobham Eastcourt (in Thurnham).
 Aldington Eastcourt (in Thurnham).
 Stockbury manor (Stockbury).
 Little Delce.
 Hamwold Court manor.
 Farnborough Court manor.
 Boughton Monchelsea manor.
 Midley and Little Caldecott (Calcot in Midley).
 Goddington manor (in Frindsbury ?).
 Paddlesworth manor (near Snodland).
 Bicknor manor (Bicknor).
 Fraxingham manor (Frensham in Rolvenden).
 Wootton manor (Wootton).
 Eceles manor } (in Aylesford).
 Part of ditto }
 Sholden manor in Surry.
 Lands in Westborough farm in Surry.
 Dairy farm in Higham.
 Mickleham manor in Surry.
 Barrow-hall manor in ditto.
 Ingraft [Ingrave], Haringfield [Hanningfield], East Haringfield, and West Horden [Horndon] in Essex.
 Great and Little Borstaple [Barstaple] manors (in Essex).
 Widford manor in Essex.
 Alchardin *alias* Combes manor (in Swanscombe).
 North-court.

“These rents are paid on St. Andrew’s day, old style, and the custom has been held, that if the rent is not then paid, it is liable to be doubled on the return of every tide in the Medway, during the time it remains unpaid. This custom was very near being brought to a legal decision some years ago ; for Sir Thomas Dyke, Bart., owner of Farnborough-court manor [*d.* 1756] and Thomas Best, Esq., owner of Eceles manor, having made default in the payment of their castle guard rents, Mr. Child, owner of Swanscombe manor [after 1740] and the castle, required the penalty of their being

doubled; which dispute was carried so far that ejectments were served on the estates, and a special jury was struck to try the matter. But by the interposition of friends, the dispute was compromised, and a small composition was accepted, in lieu of the penalty, though it was entered in the court rolls of Swanscombe manor, with the consent of all parties, in such a manner that the custom of this payment might not be lessened in future by it."

I shall give in an appendix an account of an unpublished record which contains an interesting list of fees owing ward to Rochester Castle, and which proves that the barony of Swanscombe represented only half of them.

When working on Northamptonshire in *Domesday* for the Victoria history of that county, I was led to examine the connection of its baronies with the system of castle guard, and this investigation resulted in a very suggestive discovery. The manor of Hartwell in that county owed castle guard to the distant fortress of Dover, and the service due from it was that of two knights, each of whom was liable to serve fifteen days a year. The total liability of this manor was commuted for twenty shillings a year, which works out, you will find, at exactly eightpence a day. Now eightpence, in the twelfth century, was the recognized pay of the knight. I proved this long ago in the pages of *Feudal England* (pp. 271-272) and showed that it explained the words of the *Dialogus*: "Duo milites bajuli clavium quisque in die VIII [den.] *ratione militiæ*; asserunt enim quod equis necessariis et armis instructi fore teneantur." And, as to actual castle guard, I cited the Pipe Roll of 1162 (8 Henry II.),¹ where we have, under Kent, a payment of £84 18s. 8d. to seven hired knights as their wage for a whole year, which represents, for a year of 364 days, eightpence a day each. Two years later we have a standing guard of five knights kept up, during the summer months, at the castle of Walton on the estuary of the Stour, and their pay is again exactly eightpence a day each.² Lastly, at Dover itself, the very next year, we have a payment of £25 to five knights for 150 days' service; that is, eightpence a day

¹ p. 53.

² Pipe Roll, 10 Hen. II., p. 34.

each.¹ Passing to 1173, a year of great military expenditure owing to the risings against the King, we have an entry of £5 16s. 8*d.* paid to five knights for thirty-five days of service in Northampton Castle,² that is, exactly eightpence a day each. In the following year the ten knights who were in garrison at Worcester Castle received £12 for thirty-six days' service; that is, eightpence a day.³ And in 1175 the knights who were guarding the castles of Worcester and of Warwick were paid at the rate of eightpence a day.⁴ On the other hand, we find that, as was natural, when there was a sudden demand for knights, in times of great emergency, their rate of pay had the same tendency as the price of horses and the wages of yeomen have shown in the present war; that is to say, it rose. And it rose sharply. In the struggle of 1173 and 1174, the garrisons of knights guarding castles were paid, in the majority of cases, at the rate, not of eightpence, but of twelpence a day.⁵ You may see here a feature of mediaeval finance. Wages were reckoned by rule of thumb; there was no subtle adjustment. The foot serjeant received his penny, the horse serjeant twopence. Thus the scale rose to the highest offices of all, in which such magnates as the King's butler, the Lord Chancellor, and so forth, had five shillings a day. Military wages were based on the same crude principle even at the siege of Calais in the fourteenth century. The archer then had threepence a day, the horse archer sixpence, the squire a shilling, the knight two shillings, the banneret four shillings. Pay had thus practically tripled since the twelfth century, but the absence of nice gradations is just as marked as it was. And that is why in the twelfth century, if the knight was to be paid more than eightpence, he was at once paid a shilling. The artless simplicity of this finance greatly facilitated the work of account.

¹ Pipe Roll, 11 Hen. II., p. 2. There are other instances in point, in addition to which I showed in *Feudal England* that a scutage of two marcs would represent exactly eightpence a day for the forty days of feudal service.

² Pipe Roll, 19 Hen. II., p. 32.

³ Pipe Roll, 20 Hen. II., p. 26.

⁴ Pipe Roll, 21 Hen. II., pp. 91, 127.

⁵ This was the rate at Salisbury, Cambridge, Hertford, Lincoln, Rochester (Pipe Roll, 20 Hen. II., pp. 34, 63, 67, 96, 125, 138.)

Now my reason for dwelling on the rate of the knight's pay at the time is that if we find castle guard commuted at the rate of eightpence a day we may fairly infer that this commutation was effected at a time when eightpence a day was the recognized value of the service, that is, under Henry II. And this conclusion is, I think, supported in the case of Dover by the fact that we find the Crown in 1165 already paying knights for its guard. And, in any case, it is clear that under Richard I. the payment of money in lieu of guard was a well established practice; for when Abbot Sampson of St. Edmund's had his well known dispute with his knights, one of the points at issue was the amount they were accustomed to pay towards the castle guard of Norwich.¹

But I must now pass to my next point, namely the system by which from a very early date the Crown distributed the burden of castle guard. And here we must distinguish very carefully between the guard of the royal castles and that of the baronial castles, for which special provision was made, which was due from the tenants of the lord.

In Northamptonshire we obtain an excellent example of the distribution of castle guard. Rockingham, a castle built by the Conqueror, was provided for by making its guard a charge on the knights of the Abbey of Peterborough,² on the barony of "Wahull," now Odell, composed of thirty knight's fees,³ and on the barony of Warden—

¹ *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Series) I, 270-271.

² Writ of 27 Jan., 1217: "Mandatum est Constabulario de Rokingh[am] quod nullas tensesas exigat de terris vel hominibus Abbatis de Burgo et quod pacem eis habere faciat et quod manuteneat et defendat omnia sua. . . . Mandatum est etiam eidem quod non distringat dominica Abbatis et Monachorum ad wardas faciendas castro de Rokingham sed vos inde capiat ad terras militum qui feoda illa de eis tenent pro quibus wardas illas facere debent. T. eod.'" (*Cal. Rot. Litt. Claus.* I, 297). Compare *Chronicon Petroburgense*, p. 41, where Geoffrey de St. Medard is returned as having held four fees of the Abbot in Northants, "et reddidit domino abbati per annum ad

wardam de Rokingham xxiiii solidos." So also pp. 42, 114, 131, 153.

³ The Earl Marshal's Commissioners reported to the King, in 1605, on this barony that "the land, consisting of thirty knight's fees, being his [the claimant's] ancestors' in the time of the Conqueror, and hath continued in lineal descent to this day, and is yet held of him, and nine pounds per annum being the Antient Fee of the castle guard of Rockingham, continually paid into the Exchequer, and is at this day," etc. This payment would represent six shillings on the fee, which seems to have been also the rate from the Peterborough fees. Odell itself was in Bedfordshire, but the barony lay mainly in Northants (see *Victoria History of Northamptonshire*, I, 290).

now Chipping Warden—held by the Reinbudeurt family. I reckon that the fifteen knights' fees which composed this barony became liable to an annual payment of five shillings each when the service was commuted for money.¹ The castle of Northampton itself was garrisoned by the knights of another local barony, that of Gunfrei de "Cioches" (*i.e.* Choques), the fifteen fees of which commuted their service subsequently for a payment of ten shillings a year each. But a third local barony, that of the Pinkenys, which consisted, like the two others, of fifteen fees, was one of those which were liable for the guard of Windsor Castle.

The castle guard of Windsor is one of peculiar interest, and we are fortunate in having a record of the baronies from which it was due in a volume which contains others of the kind, the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (pp. 716–717). But, to understand its system, there is need of some explanation. We saw at the outset that Abingdon Abbey was called on to provide knights for the guard of Windsor Castle. The service due from the abbey, under the feudal system of the Normans, was thirty knights, and it was reckoned at the same figure for the purpose of the Windsor ward. Exactly half that number, fifteen knights, must have been originally exacted from the barony of the Windsor family, whose founder was castellan of Windsor at the time of Domesday.² For in the *Red Book* list we are able to recognize the fragments of what had once been his fief, William de Windsor holding half of it, and Thomas and Hugh de "Haudeng" a quarter each. There has been considerable confusion on the history of this barony, which was first divided into two halves by Walter and William de Windsor in 1198, and then further divided as a consequence of Walter's half being shared by the two Hodengs. Then there was the Pinkeni barony, with its fifteen knights, of which I have already spoken. We have now accounted for sixty fees owing ward to Windsor. To these were added a barony consisting of ten fees, of which the *caput* was at

¹ See the list of "Wardae de Castello de Rokinham" in *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. cclxxxi. The total of the payments amounts to £3 15s.

² See my article in *The Ancestor*, I, 123.

Little Easton, Essex, though its fees ranged from Suffolk to Dorset. The inclusion of this barony may have been due to the fact that it came into the hands of a Windsor cadet in the days of Henry I. Lastly, three single fees were added to these seventy, thus raising the total number to seventy-three, of which the service, commuted at 20s. a fee, was worth £73 a year. Now seventy-three may seem to you an odd and meaningless number, but a moment's thought will show that it is exactly one-fifth of the 365 days in the year, so that this £73 represented 4s. a day, neither more nor less. And 4s. was exactly the pay of six knights at 8*d.* a day, or four knights at a shilling. I dare say it sounds like a theory on the Great Pyramid or the number of the Beast, but if you will work it out for yourselves you will find that it is absolutely correct.

In all these calculations twelfth century man was trying to harmonize as best he could three different elements. One was the decimal system of reckoning, seen in the unit of ten hides for fiscal and territorial purposes and in the *constabularia* of ten knights which formed the unit of feudal service. Another was the monetary system based upon the marc and the pound, 8*d.* representing the twentieth of a marc, and 1*s.* the twentieth of a pound. The third was the number of days in the year, which could not be made to fit with either of the two others. Under Henry II. we find knights engaged for castle guard by *vigenia* or *vicenia*,¹ a rare word which means twenty days' service. This enabled their total pay to be easily reckoned in mares or pounds. For the Windsor guard the sixty fees of the two great baronies paid their commutation in money *per quadragenas*, that is, in instalments due every forty days. But this was an attempt to solve the difficulty by reckoning the year as consisting of 360 days. On the other hand, at Dover, where the castle guard was arranged on a most elaborate system, it is clear that the unit of service was fifteen days, and that some fees were liable to perform two or even three turns a year. I believe that at Windsor the service due was thirty days

¹ See, for instance, Pipe Roll, 20 Hen. II., p. 138.

of guard, and that this was commuted at 8*d.* a day for a pound a year.

For the castle guard of Dover we have extremely full information. I have elsewhere traced for the first time the true history of the Constable's Honour, which represented the Domesday fief of Hugh de Montfort, often afterwards called the Honour of "Hagenet" from its *caput* at Haughley in Suffolk. Each of its fifty-six fees was liable for 10*s.* a year, which represented the commutation for fifteen days of castle guard. But in the case of the other baronies liable for Dover guard, an elaborate arrangement can be traced. Three of these baronies were each of them liable for the payment of the same sum, £19 10*s.*, as commutation, although they respectively consisted of 15, 17½, and 24 fees, while another, in which there were 12 fees, was liable for two-thirds of that sum, that is, £13. This result was arrived at by making some of the fees liable for twice or even thrice as much castle guard as others.

But I must not dwell upon these details, for I have other points to bring before you. The ward system of private castles is harder, of course, to trace than that of the King's fortresses; but it is extremely interesting. In Essex, for instance, we find manors held of the Bishop of London which owed ward at his castle of Bishop Stortford; others, held of the Earls of Richmond, liable to perform ward at the Yorkshire stronghold of their lord; others, which had formed part of the fief of Odo of Bayeux, charged with ward service at Rochester; others, as part of the Honour of Haughley, performing their service at Dover Castle; and, most interesting perhaps of all, some which, held of the Lords of Dummow, Ralf Baynard's successors, owed ward to Baynard's castle, right in the City of London.¹

It is essential to remember that a baron's fief was often scattered over several counties, and that therefore, in the case of a private castle, and still more in the case

¹ Wanstead paid two shillings a year to the Bishop of London's castle of Stortford; Willingale Spain paid castle-guard rent to Richmond; Thorington, Barstable, and Ingrave to Rochester; Little Baddow, Pentlow Hall, Little

Oakley, and Ramsey, to Baynard's Castle (Morant's *Essex*). To Dover castle-guard, rent was due from several Essex manors on the Domesday fief of Hugh de Montfort.

of a royal one, knights might have to come from far to take their turn at castle guard. This leads me to my last point, namely, the value of castle guard and of the money rent for which it was commuted as a means of tracing the descent of manors and the barony to which they have belonged. As an instrument of research it is in some cases the most valuable we possess. Speaking from a somewhat wide experience in the work of identifying manors, I think that the statements, even in records, which allege a manor to be held of this or that Honour, are open at times to question. Payment of rent for castle guard is a far safer guide.

Let me give you an instance from Essex. Adjoining one another are two parishes, West Thurrock and Grays Thurrock, of which the latter is better known as Grays. Morant, the historian of the county, states definitely that Grays Thurrock is the large and valuable manor of Thurrock, which appears in Domesday as the one holding in Essex of the Count of Eu. The Count's fief was forfeited at an early date to the Crown, so that its descent is difficult to trace; but I observed that, according to Morant, the church, not of Grays, but of West Thurrock, "was the endowment of one of the seven prebends founded in the collegiate church within the castle of Hastings, in Sussex." But who founded that collegiate church? Why, the Count of Eu.¹ It must therefore have been West and not Grays Thurrock that was held by the Count of Eu at the time of Domesday. And yet, when we study its manorial history as given in Morant's work, we discover nothing to connect it with Hastings, and we even find it returned in Inquisitions of 1287 (15 Edward I.), 1310 (4 Edward II.), and 1316 (9 Edward II.), as held by the Briancon family of the Duke of Brittany or Earl of Richmond respectively, as if it formed part of the well known Richmond fief. The explanation of this is simply that the castle and Honour of Hastings were held at the time by the Earls of Richmond, in virtue of a special gift from the Crown. And when we turn to an Inquisition of 1279-1280 (8 Edward I.) on the so-called "Barony of Hastings,"

¹ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, 1470.

we find that, of fifty-seven fees paying £21 0s. 9*d.* to the ward of Hastings castle, two were at "Thurrock" in Essex.¹ Here, then, if you trusted only to the name of the magnate of whom the manor was held, you would be misled; but the rent for ward was still payable to the castle of the Domesday holder.

Another Essex example is that of the manor of Thorington, of which an altogether erroneous account is given by Morant, the local historian. This manor is found in a deed of about the middle of the thirteenth century liable to an annual payment of 12*s.* to the ward of Rochester Castle,² which enables us to trace its descent as part of the barony of Swanscombe.

That Thurrock, on the north bank of the Thames, rendered castle guard to the distant castle of Hastings reminds us that, as I have warned you, this service was assigned, not to manors which happened to be situated near the castle, but to those which formed, wherever they might lie, part of a certain barony or of certain baronies; this, indeed, should be common knowledge. In the words of the learned authors of the *History of English Law*, "often a tenement owed 'ward' to a fief-off castle; thus in Cambridgeshire were lands held of the Count of Aumale which owed ward to his castle of Craven, and lands held of the Count of Brittany which owed ward to his castle of Richmond."³ But although this, as I have said, ought to be common knowledge, ignorance of so elementary a fact has led to an appalling hash in the official edition of our chief authority on the details of castle guard. In the *Red Book of the Exchequer* we have three separate lists of the baronies from which castle guard was due to Dover Castle and of the knights' fees composing them. Of the great Honour of the Constable, the most important of all, we have in the same volume two independent lists containing further information. The *caput* of this Honour was in Suffolk and many of its manors in the eastern counties, while the baronies had all formed part of the vast fief of

¹ Chanc. Inq. p.m., 8 Edw. I., No. 50. The words are, "Reddunt per annum pro custodia castelli de Hasting xxii*lib.* i*xd.*."

² Ancient deed A 821.

³ Ed. 1895, I, 258.

Odo of Bayeux, who had charge, under William the Conqueror, of Dover Castle. And yet Mr. Hubert Hall, the official editor of the *Red Book*, has endeavoured to ram and cram all these manors into Kent.

Let us take "the Barony of Arsic" as a case peculiarly in point. Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, had an under-tenant, Wadard, whose name is prominently preserved by the legend on the Bayeux Tapestry "Hic est Wadard," which is found above a mounted warrior. This Wadard is found in Domesday holding under Bishop Odo in no fewer than seven counties, his estates ranging from Lincolnshire to Dorset and from Oxfordshire to Kent. Within twenty years of Domesday these scattered possessions are found constituting the barony of Arsic, so named from the family which held it. This fact, I believe, has not been previously known. Now when we turn to the list of fees entered in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (p. 709) as constituting this barony, we at once recognize the scattered manors that Wadard had held of Bishop Odo in 1086. "Ramesham," the first, is Rampisham in Dorset; Mr. Hall asserts it is Faversham in Kent. "Swindene," the second, is Swindon in Wilts; Mr. Hall makes it Sevington in Kent. "Karsintone," the third, is Cassington, Oxon; Mr. Hall suggests it is Keston in Kent. Another of these manors, "Baselcote," is now Balscote, Oxon; Mr. Hall insists on placing it in Kent, though he cannot find in that county any name resembling it. The same remark applies to "Bartone," which is Barton Ede, Oxon, but of which he can only tell us that it must be somewhere in Kent. The result is that every fee in this barony that is not in Kent is wrongly identified by the editor.¹ So, again, with the barony of Maminot: Mr. Hall suggests that its "Bretinghurst" is Bredhurst, in the heart of Kent; as a matter of fact it is Bretinghurst in Camberwell, a Surrey manor of which the name is now eclipsed by Peckham Rye. And its "Hertewelle" also he places in Kent, although it is the Hartwell in Northants of which I have already

¹ Among them is Ditton in Surrey, which in one place (p. 1158), Mr. Hall suggests is in Oxfordshire, while in

another (p. 1163) he evidently imagines that (like those above) it must be Ditton in Kent.

spoken, as indeed Domesday shows. I must not weary you with further instances beyond the cases of two manors belonging to the Honour of the Constable. "Leyre" is Layer in Essex, as the *Red Book* itself proves (pp. 502, 742); and yet, without the slightest hesitation, Mr. Hall rams it into Kent (pp. 614, 706, 718, 1231). "Livermere" (or "Liveremere") is Livermere in Suffolk, as the *Red Book* itself shows (pp. 622, 742), and yet, without the slightest hesitation, Mr. Hall rams it into Kent (pp. 614, 706, 718, 1233). Every one of my statements you can easily verify for yourselves, and every one of the above errors arises from the same strange delusion that because a manor has rendered castle guard to Dover it is, must be, and shall be in Kent, even though the evidence proves most clearly that it was not.

Now we are all of us liable to error, and no one knows better than myself how difficult it often is to identify the names of manors. Therefore, although Mr. Hall's errors arise only from his own delusion, and not from any difficulty in tracing the manors I have dealt with, I should not have felt myself obliged to dwell on them were it not that, unless attention is thus publicly called to them, they will plunge the history of these manors into absolutely hopeless confusion. For this, remember, is an official work; it is edited by an officer of the Public Record Office; and the editor has gone out of his way to assure the student that all the place-names have "been subjected in turn to a three-fold scrutiny" (p. cccclxxix) an "unspeakably laborious" process (p. cccclxxx), of which he describes the details. Of this I will only say that the simplest scrutiny will show that his identifications are wrong. But my point is that these assurances, given as they are in an official work, will of course be accepted by the student, and will lead him hopelessly astray unless he is publicly warned against this unfortunate work. The errors I have brought before you are but a minute fraction of those I have discovered, and am still discovering, in making use of these volumes, and I will gladly place the whole of my corrections at the service of the Public Record Office if and when it consents to substitute another edition.

The importance, for castle guard, of the *Red Book of the Exchequer* has led me to offer these observations; and now I must not detain you longer. I can only hope that I have shown you, at least so far as the limits of a paper permit, the interest and importance of castle guard, a subject which seems, so far as I know, to have hardly received, as yet, the attention it deserves.

APPENDIX I.

"CASTLE GUARD RENTS" OF WINDSOR.¹

[12th February, 1699/1700.]

	£	s.	d.
A rent out of Manor of Huntercomb	3	15	0
Morton Pinkney	4	11	4
Wappenham	7	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
Rectory of Wappenham	4	5	$\frac{1}{2}$
Manor of Culworth	1	2	10
" Sulgrave	11	5	
" Astwell	1	2	10
" Midgham	1	0	0
" Mandeville	1	2	10
" Easton	10	0	0
" Knight Ellington	10	0	0
" Purly Maling	1	0	
Vaccary of Bagshot	1	5	0
Bailiwick fines	10	0	
Tenements in Datchett	1	0	
Vaccary of Cuffield	1	0	0
Inhabitants of Halley	1	0	
Inhabitants of Tongham	1	0	
Inhabitants of Farnborough	1	0	
A tenement in Abington	3	0	
Manor of Tubney	1	0	0
Land in Hanney	1	0	0
From Fish-hide manor in Garford	4	10	
Lands in Pewsy	13	4	
A tenement in Locking	2	11	$\frac{1}{4}$
Lands in Chilton	18	0	
From manor of Hardwell	10	0	
" " Frilsord	1	4	0
Lands in Balking	10	$\frac{1}{2}$	
" Longworth	6	8	
" Denchworth	1	0	6
From manor of Besleigh	1	0	0
" " Witham	1	17	0

¹ *House of Commons Journals*, XIII, 204-205.

	£	s.	d.
Lands in Padbury		3	8½
„ Sugworth			10
From manor of Lifford	1	0	0
Lands in Woollaston		1	6
Inhabitants of Uffington		11	1½
Lands in Watchfield		10	7½
Other lands there		2	0
Lands in Goosey		4	0
„ Leckhamstead	1	0	0
Inhabitants of Sunningwel		16	0
Manor of Boxare		4	8
„ Kingston Lesleigh	1	0	0
„ Beedon	2	10	0
„ Leverton		10	0
Lands in Wheatley		11	7½
„ Denton		6	5
Chawers manor in Garsington	1	0	0
Manor of Sampford	1	0	0
Bereford St. Michael	1	0	0
Buckland	1	0	0

APPENDIX II.

CASTLE GUARD OF ROCHESTER.

There is preserved in the Public Record Office an important and unpublished document which gives the names of the “baronies” and fees owing castle-guard rent to Rochester Castle.¹ It is very much of the same character as that which exists for Dover Castle.²

The first entry in this list is “De Baronia Ingeramm’ Patrich’ xv feoda que talia sunt.” Then follow the names of the places in which the fees were situate, ranging from Patricksbourne and Little Delce in Kent to Tadworth, etc., in Surrey. Next follow the other “baronies” in this order:

“De Baron’ de Helte vij feod’.

De Honore de Perche v feod’.

De Baronia Roberti de Sancto Johanne iij feod’.

De Baronia Domini Warini de Monte Canis’, xxx^a feod’ pro quibus Idem Warin’ respond’ totaliter per manum suam, et respondet de xviii*l*.”

In this arrangement of baronies and fees there is some similarity to that adopted in the case of Windsor Castle. There, as we saw, the ward of 60 fees (out of the 73) was due from sundry tenants-in-chief in the proportion of 30, 15, 7½, 3¾, 3¾. Here the ward of 60 fees was divided into portions of 30, 15, and another 15 made up from sundry baronies.

Warine de Montchensi, who was charged with 30 fees, was lord of the barony of Swanscombe (see p. 145 above). Enguerrand Patrich

¹ K. R. Knights’ Fees ½.

² *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 706-712.

is known *aliunde* to have held 15 fees.¹ He occurs at the court of Henry II. in 1183. Of the smaller baronies, that of "Helte" is of some interest because "Helto Constabularius" was one of those who swore to the return for the knights of the see of Bayeux in 1133.

But the chief interest, perhaps, of this document is found in its evidence as to the rate of commutation for Rochester castle guard. We are told of this document by Mr. Hubert Hall that :

"A contemporary list of Castle-ward services, which can scarcely have been any other than those of Dover, is, however, missing, for the Rochester roll has this interesting note, 'Summa totalis rotuli alterius, clxix*l.* xiijs. ij*d.* Summa totalis utriusque rotuli cc et vj*l.* et xiijs.'²

The note is interesting, no doubt—when correctly quoted. But unfortunately both the totals are wrongly given by Mr. Hall. According to him they are these :

			£	s.	d.
Total of the other roll	...	...	169	13	2
Total of both rolls	...	...	206	14	0

This would leave £37 0*s.* 10*d.* as the total of the Rochester roll. But the actual sums in the MS. are these :

			£	s.	d.
Total of the other roll	...	...	169	17	2
Total of both rolls	...	...	206	1	2

This leaves only £36 4*s.* as the total of Rochester payments. The difference may seem small, but it proves to be all-important for the rate of commutation. The MS., having stated as above that Warine de Montehensi was liable to a payment of £18 for his 30 fees, proceeds, "Summa totius Warde xxxvj*l.* iiij *sol.*" This, at first sight, appears strange, for if Warine's 30 fees paid £18, why should the other 30 fees pay £18 4*s.*? The discrepancy can be beautifully explained. On careful study of the MS. it will be found that two of the fees of "Helte" were each entered as $1\frac{1}{6}$ fee; this would give a total excess of $\frac{1}{3}$ fee, which, at 12*s.* on the fee, would account for the excess of 4*s.* And that this solution is right is absolutely proved by the fact that one of these fees of $1\frac{1}{6}$ fee was, according to our MS., in Aldington, and that we find an estate there held in 1248-9 which paid 14*s.* castle guard rent to Rochester,³ that is, at the rate of 12*s.* a fee on $1\frac{1}{6}$ fee.

Thus we attain the conclusion that the Rochester rate of commutation was 12*s.* on the fee, just as the Dover rate, we have seen, was 10*s.* And this is in perfect accordance with the fact that the one fee at Thorington, Essex (see p. 154 above), paid 12*s.* a year.

There remains the "total of the other roll," £169 17*s.* 2*d.*, of which Mr. Hall, we have seen, holds that its castle-guard rents "can scarcely have been any other than those of Dover." As the total of the Dover rents is printed by himself in this same volume (p. 712) as £145 7*s.* 8*d.*, and as this total agrees with the sum of the details, we have here yet another instance of his curious inability to edit MS. records, and of the possible, if rare, need in officers of the Public Record Office of more scientific training in the work.

¹ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, pp. 135, 197.

² *Red Book of the Exchequer*, p. cccxxvii.

³ Hasted's *Kent*.

SOME NOTES UPON THE SIGNS OF THE PAWN-
BROKERS IN LONDON IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

By F. G. HILTON PRICE, D.R.S.A.

My object in bringing these notes before you is not to give a history of pawnbroking, but to record some of the various signs of the houses in the metropolis in which those who were styled pawnbrokers or who transacted the business of the pawnbroker resided. Moneylenders and borrowers of money have no doubt existed in all countries from the very earliest times, but were I to go into the history of usury or moneylending at interest, it would fill volumes, so I intend to content myself with simply making a few introductory remarks upon the subject.

There are many instances known and referred to in the classics and elsewhere of borrowing money upon pledges of various kinds of property amongst the peoples of the Old World. Instances might be quoted from ancient Egypt, China, India, Greece, Italy, and other countries.

To begin with, I may remark that in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri many allusions are made to banks and money-lending and some to pawnbroking. I select the following as being interesting:—

“ Letter concerning Property in Pawn.”

(Second or third century, A.D.),¹ which is the latter part of a letter from Eunoëa giving instructions to a friend to redeem a number of articles, chiefly of dress, which had been pawned.

“ Now please redeem my property from Sarapion. It is pledged for two minæ. I have paid the interest up to Epeiph, at the rate of a stater per mina. There is a casket of incense-wood, and another of onyx, a tunic, a white veil with a real purple (border?), a handkerchief,

¹ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. I, p. 180, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898.

a tunic with a Laconian stripe, a garment of purple linen, 2 armlets, a necklace, a coverlet, a figure of Aphrodite, a cup, a big tin flask, and a wine jar. From Onctor get the 2 bracelets. They have been pledged since Tybi of last year for eight . . . at the rate of a stater per mina [this interest is 4 per cent. presumably for a month, a very exorbitant rate]. If the cash is insufficient owing to the carelessness of Theagenis, if, I say, it is insufficient, sell the bracelets to make up the money. Many salutations to Aia, etc., etc.”

A few years ago, in the course of the excavations carried on at Pompeii, the house of one Lucius Caecilius Jucundus was discovered. He was a banker, usurer, and auctioneer, and possibly a pawnbroker. In one of the rooms of the house a quantity of waxed tablets were found, which were records of his commercial transactions. Some of them showed that he was in the habit of lending money upon bills payable in thirty days with interest at the rate of 2 per cent. per month, which was fairly exorbitant, but it does not show what rate was paid for a renewal, probably something very large.

Usury of course, as we all know, has been practised by the Jews and others in England from the earliest times, and the usurers were severely persecuted and punished for their evil practices.

“The interest generally charged during the period from 1060 to 1290 was from 2*d.* to 3*d.* in the £1 per week, so that there is little wonder there should arise great cries against usury. The sum of 3*d.* would represent nearly as much as half-a-crown in the present time, but as the pound would also possess the same proportion of purchasing power, we can see that the percentage would vary from 45 to 65 per cent., and we have no information as to the kind or quality of the security offered; likely enough in many cases it would be of the slenderest.”¹

The Jews who were brought into England by William the Conqueror were soon hated, feared, and despised, and were the victims of more barbarous cruelties and oppressions than any other people whatever. They introduced bills of exchange, and their industry and frugality caused

¹ *A Brief History of Pawnbroking*, by Alfred Hardaker, London, 1892.

them to accumulate vast sums of treasure, which they lent out at high interest to the nobility and others upon the security of their estates. Several of our early Kings pawned their crowns and jewels to the Jews for temporary accommodation. Edward I. is stated to have pawned the customs dues; Edward III., having no dues to pawn, deposited his crown on three separate occasions; Henry V., Henry VI., Richard II., Henry VII., and perhaps others did likewise.

The Jews continued to be robbed and ill-treated under a succession of sovereigns, until the oppression culminated in the reign of Edward I., who robbed 15,000 Jews of their wealth, and banished them all. A horrible story is told in connection with this event: "Some of the wealthiest of the Jews, having obtained the King's permission to take with them their property, loaded a ship with immense wealth and set sail; but when they got to the mouth of the Thames the captain of the ship cast anchor, and, it being low water, the ship rested on the sands (probably the Goodwins). He then persuaded the Jews to leave the ship, and go with him on the sands, telling them that the tide would not flow for a long time. Having led them some distance from the ship, and finding the tide was coming in, he stole away from them, got on board, and set sail. The wretched Jews, when they discovered their situation, called to him, imploring help; but the captain, mocking them, bade them call upon Moses, who conducted their forefathers through the Red Sea, and so left them to perish. The captain returned to King Edward I., to whom he related the result of his scheme, and delivered up the treasure, receiving in return both honour and reward."¹

This is only one of many horrible tales that have been recorded. After the expulsion of the Jews in the reign of Edward I. in consequence of their having become too powerful, no trace of their existence in England can be found until after the Reformation.

Their expulsion caused great inconvenience, as there were none either to lend money or manage foreign business. All this time the family of Corsini were settled as bankers in the principal cities of Italy.

¹ Lawson's *History of Banking*.

They were invited over to England and soon began to practise usury to even a greater extent than the Jews had done, which led to their being threatened with banishment, and with some the threat was carried out.

In the fourteenth century they were succeeded by the Lombards or Longobards, who were merchants and bankers from the four republics of Genoa, Lucca, Florence, and Venice.

They combined the several occupations of goldsmith, pawnbroker, and banker. They set up their shops or benches in Lombard Street. Stow records that Edward II., in the twelfth year of his reign, confirmed a messuage sometime belonging to Robert Turke, abutting on Lombard Street towards the south and towards Cornhill on the north, for the merchants of Florence; which proves that street to have had the name of Lombard Street before the reign of Edward II.

From these cunning and industrious people the business of the goldsmith, the pawnbroker, and the banker has descended through many generations to the present day.

I insert here an extract from the will of a fifteenth century Sussex "pawnbroker," kindly sent me by Mr. Garraway Rice:

"P.C.C. Register 'HORNE,' fo. 7.

"25th Sept. 1496, 12th Hen. 7th, 'I Adam Oxenbrigge of the towne of Rye in good and hoole mynde . . . Item I bequeth to the Grey Freris of Wynchelsea a Chalice of the same hous . . . that is to plegge to me for xxx^s."

"Proved 4th November 1496."

Pawnbroking, although a very ancient trade, does not appear to have been established as a separate trade before the end of the seventeenth century. The business now done was to a certain extent carried on by the old goldsmiths, who originally came from Lombardy, and as far as London is concerned they settled in Lombard Street and gradually spread over the City and London generally.

Their trade was, ostensibly, dealing in plate and jewellery; but they transacted a considerable business in advancing money upon pledges or pawns, such as upon

jewels, plate, houses, lands, and various other articles. In the middle of the seventeenth century, many of these goldsmiths took charge of the money of others and gave receipts or notes for the same; thus they became goldsmiths keeping running cashes, and afterwards bankers.

This practice first obtained in the days of Charles I. Up to his time merchants and others were in the habit of depositing their money in the Tower for safe keeping, but in consequence of that King having seized it, the merchants lost both their money and their faith in the security of the Tower, and henceforth commenced to entrust it to the safe keeping of some of the leading goldsmiths. Towards the end of the seventeenth century and at the commencement of the eighteenth century, many of these goldsmiths gave up the legitimate goldsmith's business, and with it that of lending money upon pledges, and restricted themselves to the simple business of bankers.

The Bank of England shortly after its establishment, when its bank notes were at 20 per cent. discount and gold at 50 per cent. premium, lent money on pawns, as we can see from the following notice in the *London Gazette*, April 29th, 1695: "The Court of Directors of the Bank of England give Notice that they will lend money on Plate, Lead, Tin, Copper, Steel, and Iron at 4 per cent. per annum."

There are many instances in the old ledgers of the end of the seventeenth century, both of Messrs. Child and Co., and of Alderman Edward Backwell, of their lending money to their customers or others upon pledges of plate or jewels. In the case of William Mead, goldsmith, at the "Goat" in the Strand, who became a bankrupt and whose banking business was taken over by Sir F. Child and Co., a notice appeared in the *London Gazette*, 20th June, 1730, to the effect "that all pledges now remaining in the Hands of the assignees will be peremptorily sold, unless redeemed by the 24 July next, without further notice."

This is a late instance of a banker lending money upon pledges of jewels and plate.

Pawnbroking appears to have started as a separate trade about the reign of James II. It was not until

the beginning of the eighteenth century that the pawnbrokers advertised their trade in the newspapers.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century many of the goldsmiths inserted advertisements in the *London Gazette* and other newspapers announcing their intention of giving up the trade, and requesting all persons having pledges with them to redeem them by a certain date or they would be disposed of, as they were retiring from that business. After 1700 these notices became more frequent.

In the *London Gazette*, 18th June, 1694, was the following notice of what might be considered a pawnbroker's sale: "Mr. Wilson with the rest of the other goldsmiths concerned in the Sale of Plate, Jewels, etc., have appointed Monday the 23rd July next to draw the same in the Quest House of St. Dunstan's in the West in Fleet Street, by 8 in the forenoon."

Captain John Pasill, goldsmith, of the "King's Arms" in Cheapside, gave notice to all persons having plate or jewels in his hands to fetch them away or else they will be disposed of (August 10th, 1696).

Another goldsmith, one Robert Johnson, had the following interesting advertisement in the *London Gazette*, December 31st-January 3rd, 1677-8, which I will quote as it refers to Nell Gwyn:

"All goldsmiths and others to whom one Silver plate may come to be sold marked with the cipher E.G. flourished, weighing about 18 ounces, are desired to apprehend the Bearer thereof, till they give notice to Mr. Robert Johnson, in Heath Cock Alley in the Strand against Durham Yard or to Mrs. Gwin's Porter in the Pall Mall by whom they shall be well rewarded."

I consider it to be quite possible that the retirement of so many goldsmiths and pawnbrokers from the trade is to be accounted for by the foundation of a great pawnbroking establishment in the year 1707-8, styled "The Charitable Corporation for lending Money to the Industrious but Necessitous Poor," which was established in order to defeat the extortionate and usurious rates made by pawnbrokers, which are stated to have ranged from 30 to 60 per cent.

It obtained an Act of Parliament in 1708, but did not

really do much business till 1719. It started with a capital of £30,000, but it was eventually increased to £600,000, nearly all of which was squandered in a shameful manner in speculations on the Stock Exchange, which caused a very great scandal at the time.

The first notice that I have observed in the *London Gazette* of this institution is under date December 6th, 1708 :

“The Charitable Corporation for the Relief of the Industrious Poor, by assisting them with small sums upon Pledges at Legal Interest! having some time since lent money accordingly, at their house in Duke Street, Westminster, at the Rates following viz. : from 20s. to 10s. at one and a half per cent. per annum, charges above the interest, and from 10s. to 5*d.* at 5 per cent. per annum Interest without charge, and 6*d.* or under Gratis! and taking the said interest and charge for no longer time than the poor Borrowers keeps the money. Therefore that they may not be imposed upon by Stolen Goods, do desire all who lose anything to send immediate Notice there of to the House aforesaid. That they may be stopped and returned.”

Then on the 9th June, 1709, they give notice that books for subscription will be laid open at their house.

In the same journal of the 7th July, 1719, they again give notice that they have resolved to begin to lend money upon pledges pursuant to their charter at their house in Spring Gardens on the 22nd instant, but a further notice postponed this until the 29th instant.

On April 16th, 1728, a meeting was called for 30th April, to consider declaring a dividend for the last six months.

Then (September 18th, 1731) they gave notice that at their house on Lawrence Pountney Hill, Cannon Street, there would be sold by public auction on Tuesday, the 19th October, and the following days, several sorts of goods and manufactures, plate, jewels, etc.

On the 25th October, 1731, the Corporation from the same house “gives notice that John Thompson late Warehouse keeper of the said Corporation had absconded, and offer a reward of One thousand Pounds for his capture. He is presumed to have taken away a great

quantity of Jewels, etc., as well as some books." Then follow other advertisements on the subject.

The last notice I have come across of this Corporation was in 1742.

A very pleasing story is given by Mr. Hardaker in his *Brief History of Pawnbroking*, which he quotes from *Sacred and Legendary Art*, by Mrs. Jameson: "The pawnbroker's badge and cognizance has been properly enough referred to the Lombard merchants who carried on business in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But the Lombards had merely assumed the emblem which had been applied to St. Nicholas, as their charitable predecessor in the same line. The good saint was Bishop of Panthera, in Lycia." Mrs. Jameson gives the fable as follows: "Now in that city there dwelt a certain nobleman who had three daughters, and from being very rich he became poor—so poor that there remained no means of obtaining food for his daughters, but by sacrificing them to an infamous life; and oftentimes it came into his mind to tell them so, but shame and sorrow held him dumb. Meantime the maidens wept continually, not knowing what to do, and not having bread to eat, and their father became more and more desperate. When Nicholas heard of this, he thought it a shame that such a thing should happen in a Christian land. Therefore, one night, when the maidens were asleep, and their father alone sat watching and weeping, he took a handful of gold, and, tying it up in a handkerchief, he repaired to the dwelling of the poor man. He considered how he might bestow it without making himself known, and while he stood irresolute, the moon, coming from behind a cloud, showed him a window open, so he threw it in, and it fell at the feet of the father, who, when he found it, returned thanks, and with it he portioned his eldest daughter. The second time Nicholas provided a similar sum, and again he threw it in by night, and with it the nobleman married his second daughter. But he greatly desired to know who it was that came to his aid; therefore he determined to watch, and when the good saint came for the third time he was discovered, for the nobleman seized him by the skirt of his robe and flung himself at his feet,

saying, ‘Oh, Nicholas, servant of God, why seek to hide thyself!’ and he kissed his feet and hands. But Nicholas made him promise that he would tell no man.”

“In the engraving which accompanies the story,” wrote Mr. Turner, “the saint is represented standing on tiptoe, and about to throw a bell-shaped purse into the window of the house. The merchant is seen through an open doorway sitting sorrowfully in the nearest room, while his three daughters are sleeping in a room beyond. The three purses of gold, or, as they are more commonly figured, the three golden balls, disposed in exact pawnbroker fashion, are to this day the recognized and special emblem of the charitable Nicholas.”

Many speculative suggestions have been advanced as to the meaning of the sign “The Three Golden Balls” or the “Three Blue Balls,” but I consider they must all give way to the probability that the sign was taken from the lower part of the coat of arms of the Dukes of Medici, from whose states and from Lombardy the old goldsmiths came. These capitalists advanced money on lands and valuables at high rates of interest and hence were the predecessors of the pawnbrokers. The popular explanation of the sign is, as you may all be aware, that the chances are two to one against anything pawned ever being redeemed.

The most favourite signs adopted by the old pawnbrokers in London towards the end of the seventeenth century were the “Bell,” “Blue Ball,” “Crown,” “Golden Ball,” “Seven Stars,” “Sun,” “Three Bowls,” “Three Blue Bowles,” “Three Cocks,” etc. Of the “Three Balls,” the first instance that I have met with was in 1744. The first instance on record of the world-renowned “Three Golden Balls,” is in 1672, as the sign of Townsend, a tobacconist near St. Dunstan’s Church in Fleet Street; the second is that of Mr. Hankey, goldsmith and banker of Fenchurch Street, the house afterwards numbered 7; and the third is that of Thomas Rudge, of the “Three Golden Balls,” in Houndsditch, in 1731, which is the first occurrence that I have come across of a pawnbroker living under that sign, and another in 1699 of a starch seller at the “Three Golden

Balls" in St. Martin's Lane, and another pawnbroker flourished under this sign in Castle Street, Leicester Fields, in 1752.¹ It is a very remarkable circumstance that out of the hundreds of signs of the houses of pawnbrokers I have met with, from the earliest times after the Fire (1666) up to 1731, only one occurrence of the "Three Golden Balls" used by a pawnbroker should be met with, and only one of the "Three Balls," but of the sign of the "Three Bowls" there are a great number, ranging from 1702 to 1765, and a few of the "Three Blue Bowls," which was practically the same sign. I think this sign must be the original rendering of the familiar "Three Golden Balls," as so many of the former have been noted before any instance of the latter was met with.

Of other signs having the ball or the bowl in their composition the following may be mentioned:

- "Ball and Crown," 1703.
- "Blue and White Ball," 1726.
- "Five Blue Bowls," 1742.
- "Golden Ball and Bunch of Grapes," 1722.
- "Golden Ball and Cross Keys," 1723.
- "Old Golden Ball," 1725.
- "Ring and Ball," 1685.
- "Striped Ball," 1715.
- "Three Blue Balls," 1720.
- "Three Blue Bowles and Golden Ball," 1729.
- "Two Bowls," 1710.
- "Two Masks and Golden Ball," 1710.
- "Two Vizard Masks and Golden Ball," 1715.
- "Three Bowls and Rose," 1744.
- "Star and Blue Ball," 1745.
- "Three Green Balls," 1745.
- "Five Blue Balls,"
- "Three Bowls and Golden Ball,"
- "Dove and Two Balls,"
- "Golden Ball and Blue Anchor,"
- "Rose and Three Balls,"
- "Three Balls and Acorn,"
- "Three Balls and Gold Ball,"

} 1753 to 1765.

¹ I have met with the name of John Balls," in Charles Court in the Strand, near Hungerford Market, in 1720.

Irrespective of the above signs, which were apparently the most popular, as they occur several times in the various streets of the Metropolis in the early part of the eighteenth century, there may be noted some of the earliest that were employed by the pawnbrokers for the signs of their houses. These have been extracted from advertisements in the old newspapers. After the name of the sign I have appended the date of the year in which they are first observed.

- “The Five Roses,” 1687.
- “Half Moon and Cross Pistols,” 1687.
- “Gilded Hart,” 1698.
- “Globe,” 1693.
- “Crown and Pearl,” 1697.
- “King’s Head,” 1693.
- “Bell,” 1702.
- “Bell,” 1693, kept by John Bush, pawn-taker.
- “Black Spread Eagle,” 1704.
- “Blue Flower Pot,” 1701.
- “Crooked Billet and Three Horse Shoes,” 1700.
- “Crown,” 1703.
- “Flying Horse,” 1702.
- “Golden Lyon,” 1701.
- “Half Moon,” 1702.
- “Key,” 1704.
- “Naked Boy,” 1703.

Then we meet with signs that are of rare occurrence, such as the “Black Hart and Rose,” “Tea Table,” “The Blue Boat,” “Double Cane Chair,” “Five Bells and Candlestick,” “Hand and Ear,” and a great many in triplicate, such as the “Three Crowns,” “Three Hats,” “Three Neats’ Tongues,” “Three Tobacco Rolls,” etc. But for the rest of the signs observed, together with the names and residences of the pawnbrokers, see the list at the end of this paper.

At the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, it was legal for publicans to take in pledges; but this was prohibited by law in 1751. It was not only publicans who acted as pawnbrokers, as I have met with the following instances: In the *London Gazette*, December 2nd, 1697, is a notice that “All

persons who have any Plate or Jewels at Pawn in the hands of Joseph Fell, Goldsmith, or otherwise indebted to him are to take notice that unless they pay such money to Christopher Rednapp, Upholsterer, at the 'Cock' in Witch Street by the 21st instant such plate and jewels will be disposed of."

Then we find one Richard Trigg, bricklayer and pawnbroker, in Long Lane, parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, 1710; William Streeton, leatherseller and pawnbroker, 1710; also John Goddard, back door of the "Vine" Tavern, Eagle Street, in Holborn, pawnbroker, 1726. He was probably also a publican.

There are also many instances in my list at the end of this paper of female pawnbrokers. One of these, advertising in the *Daily Advertiser*, says "All Persons that have Pledg'd any goods with the *Gentlewoman* in Hanover Yard, are desired to redeem them" without delay, etc.

Amongst them I came across the following amusing notice in the *Postman*, February 9th, 1699: "The other day a Female Pawnbroker who lives not far from Fleet Ditch wanting a Husband applied herself to a Cunning man near St. Pauls and after she had opened her case gave the conjuring Doctor Two Guineas and the person pitched on was Sir W—— M—— A —— of about 80 years of age who not coming according to expectation she arrested the Fortune Teller for her Two Guineas, who has put in bail, and Councel learned in the Law are retained on both sides to Argue the Premises most strenuously in Westminster Hall."

In Boynes's *Trade Tokens*, the author appears to rather jump at conclusions in describing the following farthing token:

O. NATH. LITTLEFORD = Three Balls.
R. IN. WHIT. CHAPPELL. = N.L.

On which he remarks, "The issuer was evidently a pawnbroker," which, as we have already seen, does not follow at all. In describing another token issued at the sign of the "Negro's Head," 1668, the author considers the issuer was probably a pawnbroker, as this sign was sometimes used by the trade.

In the well-known pictures by Hogarth of Beer Street and Gin Street, houses are depicted with the sign of "Three Balls"; on that of Beer Street, "Pinch, pawn-broker," is painted over the door.

There appear to have been two lower grades of pawnbrokers in the eighteenth century, *i.e.* those termed fripperers, who were essentially dealers in left-off clothing, and the chandlers, who took in pledges without licenses, the greater part of the money borrowed from the chandlers being laid out in the same shops. An amusing instance is given by Mr. Hows in *The History of Pawnbroking*, 1847 :

"A hard-working carpenter, whose wages did not exceed £1 a week, possessed a large tin kettle. His wife in the course of the week pledged the kettle for sixpence. On Saturday evening the husband brought home a leg of mutton and a half-peck loaf, out of his wages ; and as the mutton was to be boiled, the wife, at the chandler's shop, on Sunday morning, pledged the loaf and paid a halfpenny, and released the kettle. She then boiled the mutton and took it up, wiped the kettle out and paid a halfpenny and released the loaf; after which the husband and wife sat down and ate a hearty dinner."

King Charles I. gave the inhabitants of London a charter whereby it was made lawful for them to expose and hang in and over the streets and ways and alleys of the said city, and suburbs of the same, signs and posts of signs affixed to their houses and shops, for the better finding out of such citizens' dwellings, etc.

In those days, when so few of the people could read, the picture-sign was necessary to guide them to the house they desired ; but from some accounts we have read of them it must have been very difficult for any person to make out what they were intended to represent, as many were so complicated and others badly designed. Of course in the principal streets good artists were often employed. At one time it was the fashion to gild the signs, such as the "Golden Anchor," "Golden Ball," "Three Golden Bells," etc.

Then there were many incongruous combinations in some signs, such as the "Five Bells and Candlestick,"

“Naked Boy and Seven Stars,” etc. This addition of an extra sign to the original sign, which probably had been that of the house for generations, irrespective of the trade carried on beneath it, is supposed to have been due to the fact that it was usual for a young tradesman, on his first starting business at a certain house—we will say, for the sake of argument, at the “Five Bells”—to add to the sign of his house the sign of the master to whom he had lately been apprenticed, which, we will assume, was the “Candlestick.” The sign of the young tradesman would therefore become the “Five Bells and Candlestick.”

The signs of the houses were very numerous; and in consequence of anxious tradesmen wishing to be well known, they resorted to putting up such enormous signs over the streets and swinging from their houses, that they became an intolerable nuisance and also dangerous. They frequently fell and injured the passers-by, and there is a record of a sign in the parish of St. Bride’s, Fleet Street, being so large and heavy as to have pulled the whole front of a house out into the street and in its fall killed four people; besides, in a high wind these old signs creaked and groaned in a way which must have been disagreeable to all persons.

I have remarked in going through the advertisements in the *Public Advertiser*, which was the organ of the pawnbrokers, that in or about the year 1758 there were fewer advertisements inserted by pawnbrokers announcing articles “Stopt” than formerly. This is accounted for by the fact that the Bow Street Runners were instituted about this time by Sir John Fielding, the magistrate of Bow Street, who was the terror of the thieves, who consequently avoided taking their plunder to the pawnbrokers. The majority of the advertisements for “Stopts” were inserted by the Bow Street Runners, as the loser was desired to apply to Sir John Fielding in Bow Street or to one of his receivers.

About the year 1760 some people advertised complaining that their signs had been blotted or painted out by mischievous people during the night; thus the “Three Blue Balls” were painted white and the “Red Star” painted blue, and so on. I have been told of an old print

of about 150 years ago depicting some urchins climbing up to paint out the signs or otherwise to disfigure them. An old man who has had his sign painted out is seen at the first-floor window, and just as the miscreants come within reach he thrusts out a mop which has been well dipped in tar or red ochre, with which he bedaubes the interloper's head. One of the sufferers, residing at the sign of the "Red Star" in the Old Bailey, writes to the paper and describes the rascals as miserable sinners and hopes that they won't finish up over the road, and concludes with, "But Lord forgive them, they know not what they do, and if they did they would not have tried to have done me out of my living, for lots of people have been asking for the sign, and not finding it have gone elsewhere and spent their money."

An Act was passed in or about 1762 to suppress the sign-boards and sign-posts, which was slowly carried into effect throughout the Metropolis.

The following advertisement will show that some of the streets had already been denuded of their signs in 1763, as on the 27th September of that year we read: "As not only the signs are taken down in Bridge Street, but the dangling Rows of Stockings and Sugar Loaves are also removed—Quere, Why the Pewter Porringers are suffered to hang in Parliament Street, and the same sort of wooden stockings in the adjoining Part of Charles Street."

Wood Street and Whitecross Street are said to have been the last from which the signs were removed, in 1773. The streets were then numbered.

For the purpose of gleanings as much information as possible about the signs of the pawnbrokers, I have examined the advertisements in the old newspapers, principally in the *Daily Advertiser* and *Public Advertiser*, up to the year 1765, and the evidence arrived at proves that from about 1754 to that date there was a marked tendency for the adoption of either the sign of the "Three Golden Balls" (or "Bowls") or "Three Blue Bowls," to the gradual extinction of other signs. In fact, other signs than those composed of balls or bowls for the pawnbroker during the period 1754–1765 are quite rare.

After this the pawnbrokers appear to have adopted generally the sign of the "Three Balls," golden or blue,

as the sign of their trade, not as the sign of their houses, as they had lost their old signs and had become known by a number. We have already had an insight into the mixed character of them, and others you will see in the list appended to this paper.

This well known trade sign is an excellent beacon to the pawnshop, in the same manner as the barber continues to hang out his pole with shaving and bleeding dish attached to this day, and very frequently we see the black boy or Scotchman outside a shop door to guide the passer-by where he can get tobacco or a pinch of snuff.

There is a pawnbroker in the neighbourhood of Dorset Square whose sign is illuminated at night, which is most effective.

Read's Journal for the 27th June, 1752, gives the following case of a pawnbroker, but no sign is recorded :

“ John Leppard, a pawnbroker, in Kent Street, Southwark, stood indicted for taking in Pawns on the Sabbath Day, and also stood indicted for taking and receiving three pence halfpenny for the loan of one shilling for one week : to which indictment he pleaded guilty, and was fined Five shillings for the first and twenty shillings for the other.”

This was a very lenient punishment for such a gross charge of usury.

I will now conclude by giving you the following story of Jack Sheppard and the pawnbrokers which I met with in the *Examiner*, November 18th, 1821 :

The celebrated Jack Sheppard, famous for his skill in breaking into houses and out of prisons, though a small man, conducted his business in the most daring manner possible. He was very fond of breaking into pawnbrokers' shops and used often to go alone on these shining expeditions. He one night got into the house of the two brothers Rawlinsons, pawnbrokers in Drury Lane, and rifled the shop in their hearing, as they both were in one bed in an adjoining room. He managed this by pretending there were several of them, and loudly giving out directions for shooting the first person through the head that dared to stir an inch, which effectually quieted the worthy money-lenders. Sheppard, however, “ could not bear a rival near the throne,” and he held the renowned Blueskin

in great contempt, describing him as “a worthless companion, a sorry thief, and that nothing but his attempt on Jonathan Wild could have made him take notice of him.” This, we fear, was a spice of envy, for the illustrious Blueskin was no flincher in his way; and his bold attempt to stab Wild in open court, while on his trial, has been immortalized by the Dean of St. Patrick’s verse; in which we find that he gallantly—

“ . . . drew forth his knife,
To make a sad widow of Jonathan’s wife.”

It has been generally supposed that this Rawlinsons’ shop was formerly known by the sign of the “Three Bowls” and that it was the same house that was inhabited by William Chambers, pawnbroker, in 1709; whose sign I had the pleasure of giving to the Guildhall Museum a few years ago.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF LONDON PAWNBROKERS’ SIGNS.

Acorn.

1716/7. Jan. 5. Lawrence Harwood, at the *Acorn* in the Bell Sauvage Yard, Ludgate Hill.

The Acorn.

1744. Foster’s Buildings, Whitecross Street. Pawnbroker retiring from business.

Acorn.

1752. Sarah Williffee, Pawnbroker, Bell Lane, Spittlefields.

Acorn.

1754. Joseph Sutton, Pawnbroker, New Street, Covent Garden.

Acorn.

1762. Butcher Row, Temple Bar. A pawnbroker’s.

Anchor and Hoop.

1745. Thomas Page, Pawnbroker, Holywell Street, Shoreditch.

Angel.

1711/12. March 4. Richard Roycroft, at the *Angel* in Bridges Street, Convent Garden.

Angel.

1722. Jan. 27. Thomas Rayner, *Goldsmith*, at the *Angel* in Cranborne Street, Leicester Fields.

Angel.

1744. Captain Richard Tyson, Blackman Street, Southwark. Pawnbroker retiring from business. *Daily Advertiser*.

Ball and Crown.

1703. Isabel Addinson, Pawnbroker, *Ball and Crown* in Brownlow Street in Drury Lane. *London Gazette*, July 15, 1703.

Baptist's Head.

1752. March 20. Old Bailey. Whereas many people pawn their Plate, watches, wearing apparel, etc., they may have them redeemed in order to be forthwith sold or more money advanced by enquiring for Mr. Clemens at the Baptist's Head facing the Great Old Bailey, who buys the above goods, or any other sorts, although not Pawned, or lends money on them to near the full value for a time agreed, also any House of Goods or Parcels of Furniture bought on notice as above. *Daily Advertiser.*

Bell.

1693. John Bush, *Pawn taker*, at the *Bell* in Charterhouse Lane, hath left off his trade, and all persons that hath goods or pawns with him are to fetch them away. *London Gazette*, May 18, 1693.

Bell.

- 1701/2. March 5. Richard Newenham, at the *Bell* in Charter House Lane.

The Bell.

1706. Dec. 16. Mr. Hammond, *The Bell* in Maiden Lane, Convent Garden.

Bell.

1708. Sept. 6. Thomas Johnson, deceased, *Bell* at the back side of St. Clements. *London Gazette.*

A similar notice appeared in the *Gazette* of 30 Aug., 1709.

Bell.

1715. Sept. 24. Benjamin Hall, at the sign of the *Bell* in Deadman's Place, Southwark.

Bird in Hand.

1719. Oct. 3. Jean Bosall, Pawnbroker, at the *Bird in Hand*, the lower part of Nightingale Lane.

Bird in Hand.

1720. Nov. 8. Jane Edsall, Pawnbroker, at the *Bird in Hand*, the lower end of Nightingale Lane.

Blackamoor's Head.

- 1710/11. March 17. John Blackmoor, at the *Blackamoor's Head*, in Church Street, near St. Ann's Church, Soho.

Blackamoor's Head.

1718. March 1. Mrs. Smithson, at the *Blackamoor's Head* in Castle Street, the back side of Long Acre.

Blackmoor's Head.

1716. Dec. 1. Thomas Jeffrys, at the *Blackmoor's Head* upon Saffron Hill.

Black Boy and Two Sugar Loaves.

1765. Facing Bever's Repository, Little St. Martin's Lane. This is now Aldridge's. A pawnbroker's.

Black Hart.

1702. Ann Collier, Pawnbroker, *Black Hart*, in Bishopsgate Street. *London Gazette*, March, 1702.

Black Hart.

1707. May 1. Ann Collier, Pawnbroker, deceased, *Black Hart*, Bishopsgate Street.

Black Hart.

1711/15. Jan. 25. John Powell, at the *Black Hart* in Bishopsgate Street.

Black Hart and Rose.

1720. Aug. 16. Ann Lill, late Widow Powell, at the *Black Hart and Rose*, formerly the *Black Hart* at Skinners Street End, without Bishopsgate.

Black Peruke.

1716. July 31. Elizabeth Norris, late wife of Phillip Norris, deceased, *Black Peruke*, in Panton Street, Leicester Fields.

Black Spread Eagle.

1704. June 26. John How, Pawnbroker, *Black Spread Eagle*, in Phoenix Street, near Bloomsbury.

Black Spread Eagle.

1705. June 30. Thomas Rumbold, Pawnbroker, at the *Black Spread Eagle*, near the Watch House in Holbourn. *Flying Post*.

Black Spread Eagle.

1715/16. Feb. 21. David Stephens, at the *Black Spread Eagle* in Phoenix Street, Bloomsbury.

Black Swan.

1707. Sept 1. Hester Pedley, at *Black Swan* in Charterhouse Lane.

Blue and White Ball.

1726. Dec. 17. J. Pullen, Pawnbroker, at the *Blue and White Ball* in Drury Lane, near Brownlow Street.

Blue Ball.

1718. March 22. Mrs. Williams, Pawnbroker, at the *Blue Ball* in Queen Street, near the Seven Dials.

Blue Ball.

1723. Feb. 5. John Rancock, Pawnbroker, at the *Blue Ball* in New Gravel Lane, Shadwell.

Blue Ball.

1723/4. March 17. Walter Vincent, at the *Blue Ball* in Orange Court, near Leicester Fields.

Blue Ball.

1726. Dec. 23. Mrs. Rylands, at the *Blue Ball* in Little New Street, near Shooe Lane.

1731. Dec. 4. Richard Ryland advertised.

Blue Ball.

1731/2. March 14. William Powel, at the *Blue Ball* in Hoxton Market. Pawnbroker.

Blue Ball.

1744. Mr. Johnson, in King Street, *Little Tower Hill*, Pawnbroker. Notice to redeem pledges, as he is leaving off trade. *Daily Advertiser*.

Blue Ball.

1744. Mrs. Ann Caswell, Pawnbroker, Old Pye Street, Westminster.

Blue Ball.

1753. George Street, Whitechapel. A pawnbroker's shop.

Blue Ball.

1755. Mr. Gregg, Pawnbroker, Barnaby Street, Southwark.

Blue Ball.

1757. Mr. Davidson, Pawnbroker, London Wall.

Blue Bour.

1757. Rosemary Lane. A pawnbroker's.

Blue Boat.

1710. Nov. 11. Samuel Barnes, at the *Blue Boat*, in Ratcliff Highway.

Blue Flower Pot.

1701/2. Feb. 23. John Hobart, Pawnbroker, at the *Blue Flower Pot* in Clare Court, Drury Lane.

Blue Flower Pot.

1702. Mrs. Cox, Pawnbroker, *Blue Flower Pot* in Queen Street, near the Seven Dials in St. Giles in the Fields. *London Gazette*, March 8, 1702.

Brown Bear.

1753. Thomas Daleman, Pawnbroker, *Brown Bear*, Bow Street, Covent Garden.

The Bull.

1745. Mr. Cheary, Pawnbroker, Bird Cage Alley, near St. George's Church, Southwark. *Daily Advertiser*.

Cannon.

1716/7. Jan. 19. Charles Fry, Pawnbroker, at the sign of the *Cannon* in Barbican.

Catherine Wheel.

1725. Oct. 26. Charles Mills, Pawnbroker, at the *Catherine Wheel* in Houndsditch, deceased.

Cheshire Cheese.

1711/12. March 28. Daniel Arnold, *Cheshire Cheese* in Vinegar Yard in Drury Lane.

Clothworkers' Shears.

1731. June 10. John Willmott, Pawnbroker, at the *Clothworkers' Shears* in Houndsditch.

Crooked Billet and Three Horse Shoes.

1700. May 23. Mrs. Sarah Biker, at the *Crooked Billet and Three Horse Shoes* in Houndsditch. *London Gazette*.

The Crown.

1703/4. Feb. 28. Anne Stanger, *The Crown*, next door to the Fleece Tavern in Pickadilly (*sic*). *London Gazette*.

Crown.

1719 and 1725. April 7. Thomas Jennings, Pawnbroker, *Crown* in Fetter Lane.

Crown.

1724/5. Jan. 16. Margaret Hignett, now Northall, living at the *Crown* in Holborn. Left off business.

Crown.

1727. Feb. 17. Thomas Immunes, at the *Crown* in Fetter Lane.

Crown.

1744. William Matthews, Peter Street, the Mint, Southwark. Pawnbroker, leaving off business. *Daily Advertiser*.

Crown.

1745. Cecil Court, St. Martin's Lane. Mr. Matthews, deceased. Pawnbroker.

Crown.

1753. Holborn Hill. Mr. Clemens advertised "All sorts of goods redeemed out of Pawn in order to be sold &c.—or more money advanced and kept a limited time, as also bought and not pawned or money lent to near the value, by Mr. Clemens—every forenoon at his House the Sign of *The Crown* on *Holborn Hill* and in the afternoon at *The Baptist's Head* facing the *Great Old Bailey*." He had several other addresses. *Daily Advertiser*, March 12, 1753.

Crown and Cushion.

1744. Robert Shorter, in Bridgewater Square. A pawnbroker. *Daily Advertiser*.

Crown and Pearl.

1697. July 26. John Phelps, *Goldsmith* at the *Crown and Pearl* over against Exeter Exchange in the Strand. Notice to redeem pawned goods. *London Gazette*.

Crown and Scepter.

1718. May 31. Mary Metcalfe, *Crown and Scepter* in Holborn, *goldsmith*, deceased.

Double Cane Chair.

1707. Sept. 4. Richard Bowles, at the *Double Cane Chair* in Postern Street, Great Moorgate.

Dove.

1753. Baldwin's Gardens. A pawnbroker's shop.

Dove and Two Balls.

1755. Baldwin's Gardens, Mr. Ramsey, Pawnbroker.

Five Bells and Candlestick.

- 1716/7. March 5. Mrs. Laughton, late of the *Five Bells and Candlestick*.

Five Blue Balls.

1753. Chandos Street, Covent Garden. Mr. Cates, Pawnbroker.

Five Blue Bowls.

1742. *Five Blue Bowls*, Chandos Street. Stopt on Friday morning last at *Mr. Curmalt's*, a large table spoon. Whoever has lost it, may have it again, by describing the marks or producing the fellow of it, and paying the charge of this advertisement.

Note.—It was brought in by a tall thin young woman, who said her name was Jane Heats and that she came from a laundress in Lincolns Inn. *The Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 13, 1742.

It was called the *Five Bowls* in 1728.

Five Roses.

1687. A Commission of Bankrupt was taken out against *Robert Grimes, Pawnbroker*, who lived at the *Five Roses* on Saffron Hill. Dec. 22, 1687.

Five Roses.

1708. Richard Nealson, *Five Roses*, Saffron Hill, near Holborn. March 1, 1704/5.

This broker intends to give up business. March 22, 1708.

Five Roses.

1745. July 30. Shoe Lane. A pawnbroker's shop. He stopped two silver tea spoons. *Daily Advertiser*.

Flying Horse.

1702. *Joseph Goodale*, Pawnbroker, at the *Flying Horse* in Fore Street, near Cripplegate.

George.

1759. *Minories.* Mr. Coleman. A salesman. He sold the pawnbroker's unredeemed pledges.

Gilded Heart.

1698/9. Feb. 20. John Exton, Pawnbroker, at the *Gilded Heart*, Without Bishopsgate. Leaving of his trade. *London Gazette.*

Globe.

1693. Thomas Coates, late a *Pawnbroker*, at the sign of the *Globe* in *Shoe Lane*. All persons having goods in his hands are desired to take them out. The utmost time limited by his Creditors for Payment of his Debts being two months. *London Gazette.* April 10, 1693.

Goat.

1730. June 20. William Mead, Goldsmith, deceased, late of the *Goat* in the Strand.

All pledges now remaining in hand must be redeemed or will be sold.

Golden Anchor.

1708. July 19. Isaac Miller, junr., lately deceased, at *Golden Anchor* in Whitecross Street.

Golden Anchor.

1719. May 16. John Breach, at the *Golden Anchor* in Whitecross Street, persons who have pledged Plate, Jewels, etc., in his hands are desired to fetch them away before the 24th of June next or they will be disposed of, etc., his Executor having left off the trade, but attendance will be given by Mr. *Edward Stone* to lend money on Pledges of goods honestly come by as formerly.

Golden Anchor.

1755. Whitecross Street. A pawnbroker's.

Golden Ball.

1694. Whereas a *Porringer* was lately offered to Pawn, whoever has lost any such, if they repair to the "*Golden Ball*" in *Whitecross Street* telling the marks and paying the charge may have it again. *London Gazette*, April 12, 1694.

Golden Ball.

1700. Dec. 9. John Ashman, *Pawnbroker*, *Golden Ball* in *Brownlow Street* in *Drury Lane*, giving up trade. *London Gazette.*

Golden Ball.

1703. Oct. 21. Thomas Cates, *Pawnbroker*, *Golden Ball* in *Cursitor Alley*, *Chancery Lane*.

Golden Ball.

1704. Mrs. Hodges, *Pawnbroker*, *Golden Ball* in *Charles Street*, near *St. James' Square*. Sept. 4, 1704.

Golden Ball.

1705. Aug. 20. Mrs. Raynams, at *Golden Ball* in *St. Andrew Street* in *St. Giles in the Fields*.

Golden Ball.

1706/7. Jan. 13. Thomas Underwood, senr., at the *Golden Ball* in High Holborn.

Golden Ball.

1707. Sept. 18. Christopher Whitmore, *Golden Ball* in Middle Row, St. Giles in the Fields.

Golden Ball.

1711. Sept. 25. Charles Price, Pawnbroker, at the *Golden Ball* in Hemius Row.

1713. Mrs. Wise was here.

Golden Ball.

1712. Nov. 8. Mrs. Remo, Pawnbroker, at the *Golden Ball* in St. Andrew Street, in the parish of St. Giles.

Golden Ball.

1714/5. March 5. William Cross, at the *Golden Ball* in Grub Street. Pledges that have lain with him a year.

Golden Ball.

1715/6. Feb. 7. Francis Underwood, Pawnbroker, *Golden Ball*, Holborn, deceased.

Golden Ball.

1716/7. Jan. 22. Thomas Cole, Pawnbroker, at the *Golden Ball* in Mutton Lane.

Golden Ball.

1716/7. Feb. 12. William Mears, *Golden Ball* in Crown Court, Long Walk, near Christ Church Hospital.

Golden Ball.

1718. March 1. Mrs. Combys, at the *Golden Ball* in Gravel Street, near Brooks' Market, Holbourn.

Golden Ball.

1719. May 2. Mr. Evans, at the *Golden Ball* in Long Acre.

Golden Ball.

1720. Dec. 27. Edward Evans, Pawnbroker, at the *Golden Ball*, against Rose Street, in Long Acre. Leaving off his trade.

Golden Ball.

1723. March 23. Whereas Mrs. Hannah Smith living next door to the *Golden Ball* in Charles Street, St. James' Market (for reasons best known to herself) has thought fit to hang up the *Golden Ball* again (which sign her house was formerly known by) only with this addition writ under it the "*Old Ball*." Whosoever have any Plate, Watches or Jewels in her Hands which have lain 18 months are desired to pay the Warehouse Room and Interest to prevent their being disposed of in a month after the Publication of this advertisement.

Golden Ball.

1724/5. Jan. 30. John Ball, at the *Golden Ball* in Upper Moorfields. Left off his trade.

Golden Ball.

1726. Jan. 24. John Wayt, Pawnbroker, at the *Golden Ball* in Maiden Lane, Convent Garden. Going into the country.

Golden Ball.

1726. Feb. 7. In Harts Horn Lane in the Strand. No name.

Golden Ball.

1731. July 27. Mary Waight, at the *Golden Ball* in Maiden Lane, Convent Garden.

Golden Ball.

1731. Aug. 24. John Whoman, *Golden Ball*, Plumbtree Street, Bloomsbury.

Golden Ball.

1742. All persons that have pledg'd Plate, Jewels, etc., at *The Golden Ball*, against the Dead Wall in *King Street*, *Golden Square*, are desired to fetch them away. Leaving off Trade and going into the Country.

Golden Ball.

1744. Jonathan Goddard, *Pawnbroker*, Burleigh Street, near Exeter Street, Strand. *Daily Advertiser*.

Golden Ball.

1744. Great Hart Street, Convent Garden, Robert Lawson, *Pawnbroker*. Notice to redeem pledges as he was clearing the house.

Golden Ball.

1744. Whitecross Street, Southwark. Mr. Harrison, *Pawnbroker*.

Golden Ball.

1745. Great Pulteney Street. A *pawnbroker's* shop.

Golden Ball.

1745. High Street, St. Giles'. A *pawnbroker's*.

Golden Ball.

1753. Saffron Hill. Mr. Burehmore, *Pawnbroker*.

Golden Ball.

1754. James Street, Haymarket. *Pawnbroker's* shop.

Golden Ball.

1756. Bishopsgate Street. John Delaforce, *Pawnbroker*.

Golden Ball.

1756. Little Queen Street, Oxford Road, George Mure, *Pawnbroker*.

Golden Ball.

1759. Marybon Street, near Golden Square. Mr. Brown, *Pawnbroker*.

Golden Ball.

1760. Clerkenwell Green. *Pawnbroker's*.

Golden Ball.

1764. Cursitor Street. Thomas Marsh, *Pawnbroker*.

Golden Ball.

1764. Marybone Street, Golden Square. Mr. Brown, *Pawnbroker*.

Golden Ball.

1765. Orchard Street, Westminster. *Pawnbroker's* shop.

Golden Ball.

1765. Saffron Hill, Hatton Garden. A *pawnbroker's*.

Golden Ball and Blue Anchor.

1754. Brick Lane, Spitalfields. A *pawnbroker's*.

Golden Ball and Bunch of Grapes.

1722. Sept. 22. Mary Jones, *Pawnbroker*, at the *Golden Ball and Bunch of Grapes*. Leaving the house.

Golden Bull and Cross Keys.

1723/4. Feb. 22. Simon Peter, at the *Golden Bull and Cross Keys* in Horton Street, Clare Market.

Golden Bull and Cross Keys.

1744. Mr. Peters, Horton Street, Clare Market. Notice to redeem pledges, as he had left off trade. *Daily Advertiser.*

Golden Bull and Three Blue Bowls.

1765. George Yard, Tower Hill. A pawnbroker's shop.

Golden Cup.

1745. Golden Lane, St. Luke's. Widow Stevenson, Pawnbroker.

Golden Dove.

1716. Sept. 4. Mrs. Elizabeth Jones, *Golden Dove* in the Old Artillery Ground near Spittle Fields.

Golden Key.

1709. Nov. 17. Thomas Byfield, Pawnbroker, *Golden Key* in Eagle Court against Somerset House, Strand. Left off business.

Golden Key.

1744. In Chambers Street, Goodman's Fields, Mr. Ryle, Pawnbroker. Leaving off trade.

Golden Key.

1745. Jan. 17. Widegate Street, Without Bishopsgate. Mrs. Goodman, Pawnbroker, gave notice to all Persons who had pledged articles with her that had lain sixteen months or upwards are desired to redeem them by the 15 February next or they will be sold. *Daily Advertiser.*

Golden Key.

1754. Near Hermitage Bridge. Alexander Murray.

Golden Lion.

1701. April 20. Thomas Barrett, Pawnbroker, at *Golden Lion* near the Playhouse in Drury Lane. Leaving off trade.

Golden Lion.

1714. April 17. Richard Warter, Goldsmith, *Golden Lion* at Holborn Bridge, notice to fetch away the articles pawned.

Gold Ring.

1720. April 2. Edward Amson, deceased, *Goldsmith, Gold Ring* in Fleet Street.

Golden Rose.

1745. R. Raniolde, Pawnbroker, *Golden Rose*, Frith Street, Soho.

Golden Wheatsheaf.

1735/6. Jan. 3. John Smallman, Pawnbroker, at the *Golden Wheatsheaf* in Houndsditch, is leaving off trade, etc.

Green Dragon.

1754. Addle Hill, Mrs. Codlicott, Pawnbroker.

Greyhound and Hare.

1717. July 13. Mary Shaw, widow, at the *Greyhound and Hare* in Houndsditch.

Half Moon.

1702. All persons that have any Plate, Rings, Jewels, etc., or any other goods in the hands of *Edward Rowley*, Pawnbroker, at the *Half Moon* in Bishopsgate Street at Spittle Gate are desired to fetch them away before the last day of April next or they will be disposed of. *London Gazette*, Feb. 8th, 1702.

Half Moon.

1708. Dec. 13. Edward Rowley, *Goldsmith, Half Moon* at Spittle Gate, Bishopsgate Street.

Half Moon and Cross Pistols.

1687. *Minories*. "On the 8th Instant a Case of Pistols wrought with silver to the value of 9 or £10 be offered for Sale were stopt on suspicion by *John Blankley* at the *Half Moon and Cross Pistols* in the *Minories*. Whoever describes the Pistols may have them, paying charges." *London Gazette*, Nov. 10, 1687.

This was probably a pawnbroker.

Hampshire Hog.

1764. St. Giles. Henry Flannagan, Pawnbroker.

Hand and Ear.

1707. John Fox, *Hand and Ear*, next St. Sepulchre's Church, June 16, 1707.

Hen and Chickens.

1715/6. Jan. 28. Edward Harrison, *Goldsmith*, late of *Hen and Chickens* in Cheapside. To redeem their effects.

Hole in Wall.

1726. Jan. 31. William Wall, at the *Hole in Wall* in Great Kerby Street.

Hope and Anchor.

1741. Shoreditch, Thomas Page, probably pawnbroker.

Hound and Hare.

Mary Shaw, at the *Hound and Hare* in Houndsditch, deceased.

Katherine Wheel.

1708. Aug. 16. Thomas Mann, Pawnbroker, at the *Katherine Wheel* in Blackman Street, Southwark. *London Gazette*. Again Feb. 16, 1709/10.

The Key.

1764. John Cranwell, *The Key*, Golden Lane, near Cripplegate, July 20, 1704.

King's Arms.

1707. Jan. 5. John Howard, Pawnbroker, at the *King's Arms* at Hatton Wall, near Hatton Garden. Giving up.

King's Arms and One Tun.

1758. Strand. A pawnbroker's.

King's Head.

1693. Nicholas Birkhead, *Goldsmith*, formerly living at the *King's Head*, Holborn, hath left off his trade. *London Gazette*, May 29, 1693.

Leg and Dyal.

1725. June 22. Thomas Bell, at the *Leg and Dyal* in Grub Street.

Lock and Key.

1744. *Petticoat Lane*, John Smart, at the *Lock and Key* in *Petticoat Lane*, Pawnbroker, is leaving off business. *Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 27, 1744.

Moving Head.

1754. Borough, Southwark. Mr. Burgess, Pawnbroker. He stopt a lady's "Etwee."

Naked Boy.

1703. Dec. 16. Grub Street. Thomas Farnell, next door to the *Naked Boy*. All persons that have Plate, Jewels, etc., in his hands are desired to fetch them away by the 25 January next or they will be disposed of. *London Gazette*.

Old Bell.

- 1711 12. Feb. 19. 1720. April 26. Edmond Chantrell, at the *Old Bell* in Deadman's Place, Southwark.

Old Golden Ball.

1725. May 15. Mrs. Hannah Smith, of the *Old Golden Ball* in Charles Street, St. James' Market, has left off the trade of lending money.

Parrot.

- 1704 5. Feb. 15. Mrs. Dorothy Harvey, at the *Parrot* in Shoe Lane, near Fleet Street.
1707. Aug. 4. Thomas Harvey, of the *Parrot*, issues a similar advertisement.

Phoenix.

- 1703 4. John Branston, Pawnbroker, the *Phoenix* against Bond's Stables, in Fetter Lane. *London Gazette*, Jan. 21, 1703/4.

Pine Apple.

1745. Aug. Castle Street, Cranbourn Alley, Leicester Fields. A pawnbroker's shop.

Plow and Arrow.

1753. Pawnbroker's shop, Thrall Street, Spitalfields.

Prince of Orange's Head.

1753. Broad Street, St. Giles'. Goods stopt by a constable at above address.

Queen's Head.

1702. May 11. 1705. April 20. Gowin Birkhead, *Goldsmith*, at the *Queen's Head* in Grafton Street, Soho. Notice of Pawns.

Raisin Wine Warehouse.

1752. Feb. 28. Great Wild Street, near Lincoln's Inn Fields. Susanna Penrice. All Persons who have pledged goods or wearing apparel with Susanna Penrice are desired to redeem them by the 26th March, or they will be sold without farther notice. To be sold at the same place a piece of Shell Work in imitation of the Fireworks in the Park. *Daily Advertiser*.

Red Lamp.

1745. Jan. 26. King Street, St. James. Widow Humphreys advertised to all Persons having pledges with her to redeem them within three months. *Daily Advertiser*.

Red Lion.

- Hop Garden, Bedfordbury, Covent Garden. Mr. Drysdale, Pawnbroker.

Red Lion Inn.

1745. Sept. 25. Borough, Katharine Gaghan, Pawnbroker. All Persons that have pledged any kind of goods whatever with her are desired to redeem them within a month, she being dead. *Daily Advertiser*.

Ring and Ball.

1685. Samuel Haukey, Goldsmith, Fenchurch Street, under

St. Dionis Backehurch. He subsequently moved to a house opposite called the *Three Golden Balls*.

Ring and Ball.

1723 Aug. 17. Joseph Green, *Goldsmith*, at the *Ring and Ball* on little Tower Hill. Pledges to be redeemed. Leaving off business. On Feb. 14, 1729/30, he says he is leaving off trade.

Rising Sun.

1730. Aug. 8. Mrs. Gallwith, Pawnbroker, at the *Rising Sun* in Norton Folgate, near Hog Lane.

Rose.

1711. April 19. Thomas Grainger, at the *Rose* in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street.

Rose.

1719. Nov. 28. William Cooling, at the *Rose* in Stanhope Street, Clare Market. Left off his trade.

Rose.

1739. Arthur Sadler, the *Rose*, near St. Bride's Church in Fleet Street. Desired all persons to redeem their pledges within 3 months or they will be disposed of, he having left off the business.

Rose and Three Balls.

1758. Mr. Pearey, Pawnbroker, East Smithfield.

Rose and Three Balls.

1758. Princes Street, Clare Market. Thomas Stone, Pawnbroker.

Sash.

1707. June 19. Richard Smith, Pawnbroker, at the *Sash* in Earl Street, St. Giles.

Seven Stars.

1706/7. March 10. Mrs. Whitmore, widow, *Seven Stars* in Ship Yard, near Temple Bar. All goods that have lain there a year.

Seven Stars.

1708/9. Jan. 27. Daniel Parker, Pawnbroker, at the *Seven Stars* in Lambs Conduit Passage, near Red Lyon Square, hath left off his trade and desires all those who have any Rings, Watches, Plate, or jewels, etc., to fetch them away in two months or they will be disposed of.

Seven Stars.

1710. Nov. 23. Sarah Whatmore, late dwelling at the *Seven Stars* in Ship Yard, without Temple Bar, but now removed to Richard Crone's, Clerk of St. Dunstan's in the West in Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

Seven Stars.

1721. Jan. 10. Esther Robarts, Pawnbroker, at the *Seven Stars* in Stone Cutter Street, Shoe Lane.

Seven Stars.

1726. Aug. 20. Charles Miller, at the *Seven Stars* in Petticoat Lane.

Seven Stars.

1752. Carey Street. A pawnbroker's shop.

Seven Stars.

Saffron Hill. A pawnbroker's shop.

Ship and Shears.

1754. High Holborn, Adam Stowers, Pawnbroker.

Star and Blue Ball.

1745. Cow Cross, near West Smithfield. A ring was stopt on suspicion of being stolen. *Daily Advertiser.*

Star and Three Balls.

1752. April 3. Wood Street, Cheapside. The pawnbroker at this sign stopt a broken bell, with a name round it, supposing it to be stolen, thought to belong to some Raker. Whoever can prove to be their Property may have it again by applying at above on paying for this advertisement. *Daily Advertiser.*

Striped Ball.

1715/16. Feb. 18. Also 1720. Whitechurch at the *Striped Ball*, next door to the King's Bagnio in Long Acre. Leaving off business.

Sugar Loaf.

1709. July 2. Thomas Seth, Pawnbroker, at the *Sugar Loaf* in Fore Street by Moor Lane. Leaving off his trade. *London Gazette.*

Sun.

1707. Dec. 11. Cornelius Drew, at the *Sun* in Silver Street, near Cripplegate.

Sun.

1709/10. Jan. 10. All Persons having any apparel or Linnen in the hands of Cornelius Drew at the *Sun* in Silver Street, near Cripplegate, are desired to redeem them by the 25th April next he having *left off* the business, (but at the request of Divers Persons) *will continue* to deal in Plate and Rings on Moderate Terms. *London Gazette.*

Sun.

1718. March 11. Cornelius Drew, Pawnbroker, at the *Sun* in Silver Street, near Cripplegate.

Sun.

1728/9. Jan. 14. Thomas Waters, at the *Sun* in Charterhouse Lane, West Smithfield.

Sun Dial.

1716. Aug. 21. Elizabeth Warner, *Sun Dial*, in Corbett Court, Spittle Fields.

Tea Kettle.

1757. Fair Street, Horsleydown. Mary Corne, Pawnbroker.

Tea Table.

1752. Feb. 24. Mr. Erwin, Chiswell Street, Moorfields. A pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1745. Coventry Street, Haymarket. Mr. Watson, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1745. July 27. John Pearse, Pawnbroker, of Blackman Street, Southwark, stopped several articles of silver plate supposing the same to have been stolen. *Daily Advertiser.*

Three Balls.

1745. Corner of Crown Court in Russell Street, Covent Garden.

Three Balls.

1745. St. Martin's Lane, near Chandos Street.

Three Balls.

1752. Feb. 28. Holles Street, Clare Market. William Carter, Pawnbroker, who gave up his trade, which was continued by Robert Barrett. *Daily Advertiser*.

Three Balls.

1753. Wheeler Street, Spitalfields. Mrs. Brown.

Three Balls.

1753. Mr. Scriven, the *Three Balls*, corner of Beale Street, Golden Square.

Three Balls.

1753. Will. Johnson, Pawnbroker, *Three Balls*, corner of Russell Street, Bridges Street, Covent Garden.

Three Balls.

1753. Old Boswell Court, Temple Bar.

Three Balls.

1753. Mr. Harrison, Pawnbroker, Denmark Street, St. Giles' Church.

Three Balls.

1754. Russell Street, Covent Garden. Mr. Bowers, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1754. West Street, near Seven Dials. Mr. Pardoe, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1754. Corner of Half Moon Street, Strand. Mr. Fells, a pawnbroker, sometime called *Three Blue Balls*.

Three Balls.

1754. Russell Court, Bridges Street, Covent Garden. Mr. Rochfort, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1755. New Belton Street, Long Acre. Thomas Pretty, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1756. Corner of Bennett's Court, Drury Lane. Francis Partrick, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1760. Corner of Hanover Court, Grub Street. Clem. Hart, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1760. Swallow Street, Piccadilly. Pawnbroker's.

Three Balls.

1760. Chandos Street. A pawnbroker's shop.

Three Balls.

1760. Near St. George's Church, Southwark (a white house). A pawnbroker's.

Three Balls.

1760. Cow Cross. Mr. Master, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1760. Corner of Dove Court, Leather Lane. A pawnbroker's.

Three Balls.

1760. Barbican. John Berrie, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1762. Coventry Street. Mr. Watson, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1763. Winford Street, Corner of Bell Lane, Spitalfields. Moses Corouel.

Three Balls.

1764. Russell Street, Covent Garden. Mr. Monks.

Three Balls.

1764. New Belton Street, Long Acre. Robert Hall, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1765. Near the Pound, St. John's, Clerkenwell. Mr. Warner, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1765. Chandos Street, Covent Garden. Mr. Cates, Pawnbroker.

This house was formerly the *Five Balls*.

Three Balls.

1765. Corner of Lumber Court, Seven Dials. Mr. Child, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls.

1774. Puddle Dock Hill, Blackfriars. A pawnbroker's.

Three Balls.

1774. Thomas Warner, Pawnbroker, deceased, the *Three Balls* in *King Street, Tower Hill*.

Three Balls and Acorn.

1763. Golden Lane. Mr. Payne, Pawnbroker.

Three Balls and Gold Ball.

1764. Bow Street, Bloomsbury. Mr. Morgan, Pawnbroker.

Three Bells.

1744. Corner of Dean Street, Broadway, Westminster. Pawnbroker leaving off trade.

Three Black Lions.

1744. Corner of Rosemary Lane, Goodman's Fields. Pawnbroker. *Daily Advertiser*.

Three Black Lyons.

1721. Sept. 5. Stephen and Francis Ewens (lately deceased), at the sign of the *Three Black Lyons*, the corner of Old Round Court, in the Strand.

Three Bowls.

1702. All persons who have any goods in the hands of *John Crouch* at the *Three Bowls*, in Plumbtree Street, St. Giles in the Fields, are desired to fetch them by the 13th November next or they will be otherwise disposed of, he designing to leave off trade. *London Gazette*, Oct. 1, 1702.

The Three Bowls.

1703. Lazarus Coombes, Pawnbroker. *The Three Bowls*, in Holles Street in Clare Market. Jan. 21, 1703/4. In 1708 giving up his trade.

Three Bowls.

1704/5. Feb. 5. *Three Bowls* in Little Russel Steet, in St. Giles in the Fields.

Three Bowls.

1705. Henry Harwood, Pawnbroker. *Three Bowls*, in Eagle Street, near Red Lion Square, Holborn. Aug. 13, 1705.

Three Bowls.

1707. Oct. 9. John Pashley, at the *Three Bowls* in Market Lane, near St. James' Market.

Three Bowls.

1709. Nov. 1. William Chambers. *Three Bowls*, in Drury Lane. Again Feb. 7, 1711/12.

Three Bowls.

1710. July 13. John Paishley. *Three Bowls*, in Market Lane, near St. James' Market.

Three Bowls.

1710. Nov. 11. Amos Hayton, Pawnbroker. *Three Bowls*, in Cecil Court, near St. Martin's Lane.

Three Bowls.

1710/11. Feb. 20. Harwood, Pawnbroker. *Three Bowls*, in Eagle Street, near Red Lyon Square.

Three Bowls.

1714. Aug. 21. Barbara Braxton, Pawnbroker. *Three Bowls* in Long Acre.

Three Bowls.

1715. Aug. 30. Amos Hayton, removed from *Three Bowls* in Cecil Court to *Three Bowls* in Hemmings Row, near St. Martin's Lane.

Three Bowls.

1715. Nov. 29. Also 1719. Richard Stockwell. *Three Bowls* in Bride Lane, Fleet Street.

Three Bowls.

1715/16. Jan. 14. John Dunn, Pawnbroker, at the *Three Bowls* upon Holborn Bridge. Leaving off his trade.

Three Bowls.

1717. Aug. 20. William Barnes, at the *Three Bowls* in Fetter Lane.

Three Bowls.

1719. Dec. 19. Richard Pretty lately at the *Three Bowls* in Little Newport Street by Cranborne Alley, and since at the *Three Bowls* in Vere Street by Clare Market.

Three Bowls.

1720. Feb. 13. Isaac Davis, at the *Three Bowls* in Market Lane, St. James'.

Three Bowls.

1720. Nov. 12. Thomas Crosfield, at the *Three Bowls* in Robin Hood Court, Shoe Lane.

Three Bowls.

1721. Abraham Bibby, of the *Three Bowls* in Wych Street, near St. Clement Danes. Died at his House the *Three Bowls* in Wych Street, near St. Clement Danes. Mr. Abraham Bibby, a *wealthy pawnbroker* and a great Bowler, who not only took in Pledges, but had large sums of money out at Interest, he had an Estate in Northumberland of £300 per annum. *Read's Journal*, April 15, 1732.

Three Bowls.

1722. Dec. 22. Joseph Walker, Pawnbroker, at the *Three Bowls* in Aldersgate.

Three Bowls.

1724. June 27. Mrs. Elizabeth Penne, at the *Three Bowls* in Long Acre.

Three Bowles.

1725. Nov. 20. Aaron Moore, Pawnbroker, at the *Three Bowles* in Salisbury Court, London.

Three Bowls.

1728. March 26. Mrs. Mary Hewlett, at the *Three Bowls* in Little Russell Street, Bloomsbury, deceased.

Three Bowles.

1731. Sept. 3. Charles Smith, deceased, at the *Three Bowles* in Market Street, near St. James' Market.

Three Bowls.

1736. Sept. 4. Oxford Street. All Persons that have any sort of Goods, Plate, Jewels, Wearing Apparel, Linnen, etc., at the sign of the *Three Bowls* next door to Mr. Deschamps, Undertaker, in *Oxford Street*, near *St. Giles' Pound*, which are under the said Mr. Deschamps' care, are desired to redeem them within the space of two months, or they will be sold, they have given up Business.

Three Bowls.

1736. Holborn Bridge. The pawnbroker at this sign desires people to redeem their pledges, as the principal is dead and the house to be let.

Three Bowls.

1742. Oct. 9. Mr. Price, the *Three Bowls*, corner of *Hosier Lane*, *Snow Hill*. He stopped a silver watch made by Gordon which was offered to pledge.

Three Bowls.

1742. Nov. 12. All persons that have any goods pledg'd at the *Three Bowls* in *Castle Street*, *Oxford Market*, are desired to fetch them away between this and Christmas next, or they will be disposed of, the Person is going to leave off Trade. *Daily Advertiser*.

Three Bowls.

1742. Mr. Irton, of the *Three Bowls*, the corner of *Crown Court* facing *Compton Street*, *Soho*, stopped a silver pepper easter.

Three Bowls.

1742. Nov. 12. Joseph Johnston, deceased, at his late dwelling House, *The Three Bowls*, the corner of *May Pole Alley* in *Wyck Street*. All persons are desired to redeem their pledges before the 25 December next, or they will be sold forthwith as the Widow is not following the business. *Daily Advertiser*.

Three Bowls.

1742. Jan. 12. Archibald Campbell and James Crockett, Pawnbrokers, at the *Three Bowls* in Shoe Lane. *Daily Advertiser*.

Three Bowls.

1744. Corner of *Blackmoor Street*, *Drury Lane*. Notice given of having stopt a large table spoon.

Three Bowls.

1744. *Three Bowls*, corner of *Half Moon Street*, *Strand*. Notice of a Ring stopp'd.

The Three Bowls.

1744. Against Hosier Lane, Snow Hill. Mr. Pike, Pawnbroker.
Three Bowls.

1744. Corner of Crown Court, Soho. A round tortoiseshell shell snuff box found in Grosvenor Square, was offered for sale by a woman who picked it up. Stopt by the proprietor.

Three Bowls.

1744. Mr. Shearer, *Great Will Street*, stopt a silver spoon supposed to have been stolen.

Three Bowls.

1744. In Turnagain Lane, Snow Hill. A pawnbroker. *Daily Advertiser.*

Three Bowls.

1745. Corner of Bennett Court, Drury Lane. George Stringer, Pawnbroker.

Three Bowls.

1745. July 23. Corner of Russell Court, Covent Garden. Mr. Carmalt, Pawnbroker, deceased. Notice by the Executors that all pledges must be redeemed within three months. *Daily Advertiser.*

Three Bowls.

1745. Stanhope Street, Clare Market. Mr. Bibby, Pawnbroker.

Three Bowls.

1745. *Three Bowls* in Great Hart Street, Covent Garden. A pawnbroker's shop.

Three Bowls.

1745. In Bride Lane. A pawnbroker's shop.

Three Bowls.

1745. Mr. Beighton, Pawnbroker, in Skinner Street, Snow Hill, giving up his business.

Three Bowls.

1753. Mr. Price, *Three Bowls*, opposite Hosier Lane, Snow Hill.

Three Bowls.

1753. West Street, Monmouth Street.

Three Bowls.

1754. Russell Street, Covent Garden. Mr. Bower, Pawnbroker.

Three Bowls.

1754. Great Hart Street, Covent Garden. A pawnbroker's.

Three Bowls.

1754. Bow Street, Bloomsbury. A pawnbroker's.

Three Bowls.

1757. Corner of Compton Street, Soho. A pawnbroker's.

Three Bowls.

1758. West Street, near Seven Dials. Humphreys, Pawnbroker.

Three Bowls.

1759. Rose Street, Covent Garden. Mr. Morrill, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1720. Sept. 20. John Buchan, Pawnbroker, at the *Three Blue Balls* in Charles Court in the Strand, near Hungerford Market. Giving up business.

Three Blue Balls.

1742. Thomas Harrison, at the *Three Blue Balls* in Horsley down, Fair Steet. Giving up trade.

Three Blue Balls.

1744. Sept. 3. Great Maddox Street. Pawnbroker's.

Three Blue Balls.

1744. Sept. 29. Corner of Deacon Street, Broadway, ¹/₂ West-
minster. All persons having pledged any goods at the above
named sign are desired to redeem them or they will be sold.

Three Blue Balls.

1744. St. Martin's Lane. Pawnbroker's shop.

Three Blue Balls.

1745. Mr. Allen, in Petticoat Lane. Notice to redeem, leaving off
Trade. *Daily Advertiser.*

Three Blue Balls.

1745. New Belton Street, St. Giles. A pawnbroker's shop.

Three Blue Balls.

1745. Brownlow Street, Drury Lane. Thomas Atkins, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

Bride Lane. A pawnbroker's house.

Three Blue Balls.

1745. 10 July. In Kemp Court, near Broad Street, St. James'.
A silver spoon was offered for pawn, but in consequence of the
woman who brought it causing suspicion, the spoon was
stopt. *Daily Advertiser.*

Three Blue Balls.

1752. Bennett's Court, Drury Lane. William Stringer, Pawn-
broker.

Three Blue Balls.

1753. Mr. Browne, Pawnbroker, Snow Hill.

Three Blue Balls.

1753. Three Blue Balls, corner of Half Moon Street, Strand.
A pawnbroker's shop.

Three Blue Balls.

1753. St. Martin's Lane. A pawnbroker's shop.

Three Blue Balls.

1753. Over against the French Exchange, Monmouth Street.
A pawnbroker's.

Three Blue Balls.

1753. Golden Lane. Mr. Payne, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1753. Broad Place, Blackfryars. A pawnbroker's.

Three Blue Balls.

1753. Denmark Street, over against St. Giles' Church. Mr.
Harrison, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1754. Boswell Court, St. Clement's. Moses Corouch, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1754. Denmark Street, over against St. Giles' Church. Mr. Fell.

Three Blue Balls.

1754. Golden Lane. Mr. Payne, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1755. Corner of Beach Street, Barbican. Mr. Scriven, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1756. Corner of Featherstone Buildings, Bedford Row. Mr. Bibby,
Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1757. James Street, Grosvenor Square. Richard Rickaby, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1758. Holliwell Street, Strand. Samuel Graygoose, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1758. King Street, Golden Square. Mr. Walton, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1758. Castle Street, Leicester Fields. Mr. Stiles, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1758. Silver Street, Oxford Road. John Bland, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1758. Corner of Hanover Court, Grub Street. Clement Hart, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1760. Facing Hungerford Market, Strand. Mr. Jordans, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1760. Corner of St. Martin's Lane, Strand. Mr. Scriven, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1760. Corner of Cockpit Alley, Drury Lane. A pawnbroker's.

Three Blue Balls.

1760. Holles Street, Clare Market. Mr. Price, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1761. Castle Street, Leicester Fields.

Three Blue Balls.

1763. Ludgate Hill. Pawnbroker's shop.

Three Blue Balls.

1764. Carnaby Street, Golden Square. A pawnbroker's.

Three Blue Balls.

1764. Rose Street, Covent Garden. Mr. Merritt, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Balls.

1765. Golden Lane. A pawnbroker's shop.

Three Blue Balls.

1765. Little Russell Street, Covent Garden. Mr. Monk, Pawnbroker.

Three Blue Bowls.

1729. Oct. 21. Jacob Pullen, Pawnbroker, at the *Three Blue Bowls* in Charles Street, near Long Acre.

Three Blue Bowls.

1736. Near Holborn Bridge. A pawnbroker's.

Three Blue Bowls.

1745. Great Hart Street, Covent Garden. A pawnbroker's shop.

Three Blue Bowls.

1753. Great Hart Street, Covent Garden. A pawnbroker's.

Three Blue Bowls.

1755. Tothill Street, Westminster. A pawnbroker's.

Three Blue Bowls.

1755. Corner of Crown Court, Compton Street, Soho. A pawnbroker's.

Three Blue Bowls and Golden Ball.

1729. Aug. 12. James Fletcher, at the *Three Blue Bowls and Golden Ball*, in Stanhope Street, near Clare Market.

Three Bowls and Anchor.

1745. Feb. 4. John Middleton, Pawnbroker, deceased, St. Clement's Lane, Clare Market. *Daily Advertiser*. This house was sometimes called the "*Three Blue Balls and Anchor*."

Three Bowls and Golden Ball.

1753. Stanhope Street, Clare Market. Mr. Bibby, Pawnbroker.

Three Bowls and Rose.

1744. Mr. Caddy, lower end of St. Martin's Lane, stopt a silver spoon supposed to have been stolen. Goldsmith or Pawnbroker?

Three Cocks.

1708. Sept. 2. Thomas Baslins, at the *Three Cocks* in St. John Street. Laid above a year.

Three Cocks.

1710/11. Jan. 18. Thomas Bastin, Pawnbroker, *Three Cocks* in St. John's Lane.

Three Cocks.

1723/4. Feb. 8. Thomas Bastin, at the *Three Cocks* in St. John's Lane, near Hicks Hall.

Three Crowns.

1721. April 11. Mr. Holloway, at the *Three Crowns*, near the Watch House in High Holbourn.

Three Golden Balls.

1731. May 25. Thomas Rudge, Pawnbroker, at the *Three Golden Balls* in Houndsditch. This is the *first* advertisement of a pawnbroker's sign of the *Three Golden Balls*, but in 1672 Townsend, a tobacconist, lived at the *Three Golden Balls*, near St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street.

Three Golden Balls.

1744. In Chick Lane, West Smithfield. A pawnbroker's. *Daily Advertiser*.

Three Golden Balls.

1752. Castle Street, Leicester Fields. A pawnbroker's shop.

Three Golden Balls.

1753. Aldersgate Street. Edmund Hewett, Pawnbroker.

Three Golden Balls.

1754. Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square. Stockdale, Pawnbroker.

Three Golden Balls.

1756. Little Turnstile. Mr. Gibson, jun., Pawnbroker.

Three Golden Balls.

1757. Carnaby Street, Golden Square. Mr. Dobree (?), Pawnbroker.

Three Golden Balls.

1758. Bird Street, Grosvenor Square. Mr. Jason, Pawnbroker.

Three Golden Balls.

1759. Fleet Market. Alexander, Pawnbroker.

Three Golden Balls.

1760. Clare Street, Clare Market. Mr. Spires, Pawnbroker.

Three Golden Balls.

1760. St. John Street, Clerkenwell. Mr. Warner, Pawnbroker.

Three Golden Balls.

1765. Mr. Powell, Oxford Street. A pawnbroker's.

Three Golden Cocks.

1703/4. Jan. 13. M. R., Pawnbroker, *Three Golden Cocks*, in St. John's Lane.

Three Green Balls.

1745. Feb. Berwick Street. Mr. Hatton, Pawnbroker, deceased.

Three Green Balls.

1745. Sept. 14. Berwick Street. Widow Hatton stopt a Cambrick Apron and four Mobs, wet.

Three Hats.

1710. Oct. 3. Elizabeth Hatter, Pawnbroker, at the *Three Hats* in Horsley down, Southwark.

Three Kings (William Wells).

1717. Sept. 28. Edward Elmes, Goldsmith, at the *Three Kings* in Moorgate street.

Whereas there was left in the Hand of *William Wells*, deceased, at Dean's Court, St. Martin's le grand, Watches, Rings, Snuff Boxes, and other things as Pledges. This is to give Notice that if the Persons concerned do not Redeem them out of the Hand of Mr *Edw. Elmes*, Goldsmith, at the *Three Kings* in Newgate Street, on or before the 25 March next they will be disposed of. Oct. 1, 1717. *London Gazette*.

Three Neats' Tongues.

1719. Dec. 15. Bendish Rash (Executor of), at the *Three Neats' Tongues*, near St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

Three Pidgeons and Crown.

1709. Dec. 12. Samuel Rowlings, Pawnbroker, at the *Three Pidgeons and Crown* in Drury Lane.

Three Tobacco Rolls.

1703. Widow Rooke, Pawnbroker, *Three Tobacco Rolls* in Blackamoore Street, Southwark. *London Gazette*, Sept. 30, 1703.

Two Bowls.

1710. July 20. John Crouch, deceased, *Two Bowls* in Plumtree Street, St. Giles.

Two Golden Balls.

1744. Grub Street. Mr. Francis, giving up trade on account of his health.

Two Golden Balls.

1753. Chick Lane, West Smithfield. Mr. Kay, Pawnbroker.

Two Golden Balls.

1756. Chick Lane, West Smithfield. Mr. Kay, Pawnbroker.

Two Golden Balls.

1762. Fetter Lane, Holborn. Mr. Kay, Pawnbroker.

Two Golden Balls and Crown.

1758. Bottom of St. Martin's Lane. Forshall and Blondell, Pawnbrokers.

Two Green Posts.

1745. Colchester Street, Red Lion Street, Whitechapel. A pawnbroker's.

Two Kings and Key.

1752. April 25. Next door but one to the *White Horse* Inn, Fleet Street.

"Whereas many people pawn their Plate, Watches, Wearing Apparel, etc., and are not able to take out the same such persons on enquiring for Mr. Clarke at the above address, may have them redeemed, in order to be forthwith sold to the best Bidder either in private or publick sale; or where goods will admit more money advanced and kept a limited time. Plate, watches, wearing apparel, etc., bought, altho' not pledged, or money lent on them to near the full value for a certain sum agreed on. Any house of goods or Parcel of Furniture bought. Any Gentleman or Lady, by sending Notice, shall be waited on at their Houses, and the business shall be transacted with the utmost Honour and Secrecy." *Read's Weekly Journal.*

Two Masks and Golden Ball.

1710. Aug. 10. John Church. *Two Masks and Golden Ball* in Hewit's Court in the Strand near St. Martin's Church.

Two Vizards' Masks and Golden Ball.

1715. May 17. John Church, deceased, at the sign of the *Two Vizards' Masks and Golden Ball* in Hewitt's Court in the Strand. House to be let.

Unicorn.

1705. April 20. Edward Sandford, Goldsmith, at *Unicorn* in Russell Street, Convent Garden.

Vine Tavern.

1726. Jan. 3. John Goddard, Pawnbroker, *back door* of the *Vine Tavern*, Eagle Street, in Holbourn.

Vizard Mask.

1703/4. March 20. 1705. Dec. 3. Thomas Henly. *Vizard Mask* in Hewet's Court near St. Martin's Church in the Strand.

White Bear.

1720. Nov. 19. Mr. Meele, Pawnbroker, at the *White Bear* in Little Newport Street.

White Hart.

1714/5. Feb. 15. Edward Collins, *White Hart* in Ludgate Street.

White Horse.

1754. Little Tower Hill. Mr. Gardner.

Mr. Bell, a broker, Chandos Street, Convent Garden.

In the *Postman*, Sept. 10th, 1698, is the following notice:

"Whereas a letter subscribed by William Bradley at the 'Leg and Garter' in Bow Lane was sent to Mr. Bell, a broker in Shandoes Street, wherein he was desired to stop certain Goodes, etc. This is to give Notice that the said 'Bell' has stopt the Goods accordingly."

The Persons who live at the *Sign of the Rose* in Fetter Lane are leaving off their trade. Therefore all those that have any goods, wearing apparel, Linen or Woollen, Plate, Rings, Watches or whatever else in their hands are desired to fetch them away by the 25th December next or they will be disposed of. *London Gazette*, Oct. 12. 1696.

1703. Thomas Farnell, next door to *Naked Boy* in Grub Street. *London Gazette*, Dec. 16, 1703.
- 1705/6. Jan 17. Bacon Gwyn, next the *Star Inn* in Blackman Street, Southwark.
- 1708/9. March 10. Richard Slade, Pawnbroker, Aldersgate Street.
- 1710/11. Feb. 13. Stephen Bradshaw, next door to *Golden Hart*, Queen Street, Cheapside.
1711. May 5. William Wellwood, Pawnbroker, in Cock Lane next to the sign of the *Golden Key* near Shoreditch.
- 1711/12. March 28. Ann Stead, next the *Three Tuns* in Long Acre.
1716. May 24. Elizabeth Saunders, leaving off trade, over against the *Dial* in Fleet Lane.
1720. Feb. 19. Mrs. Hildyard, next door to the *Elephant and Castle* in High Holborn.
1720. Dec. 17. John Michael, deceased, next door to the *Bull and Gate* in Holborn.
1722. Jan. 27. Mrs. Judeeth Shergold, Pawnbroker, next door to the *Green Man* and still in White Cross Street, Southwark, leaving off trade.
1722. Aug. 18. Mrs. Hallam, near the *May Pole* in East Smithfield.
1723. May 11. Joseph Walker and Joseph Walker, jun., Pawnbrokers, next door to the *White Lyon*, Aldersgate. House to let.
1724. Oct. 6. Elizabeth Waller, Pawnbroker. Tennis Court, Middle Row, Holborn.
1725. Sept. 14. Margeret York, *alias* Doughty, Pawnbroker, is removed from Plumb Tree Court, Shooe Lane, to next door to the *Golden Cup* in Noble Street, Foster Lane.
1726. March 21. Henry Brown, of Bow Street, *alias* *Thieving Lane* in Westminster.
- Elizabeth Curtis, deceased, in King's Street by Golden Square next door to the *Surgeon's Arms* by the *Green Dragon*.
1726. Aug. 29. Edward Young, Pawnbroker, in Exeter Court, near Exeter Change in the Strand. There will be no things delivered out after candle light.
1744. Mrs. Felce, *Pawnbroker*, giving up business, next door to *The Image Yard*, in the *low ground*, Piccadilly.
1744. Dec. 18. All Persons that have pledg'd any Goods with the *Gentlewoman* in Hanover Yard, are desired to redeem them between this and Lady Day, or else they will be sold. She leaving off Business. *Daily Advertiser*.
1745. Jan. 1. J. Collyer, Bookseller, in Ivy Lane, Paternoster Row.
- This day is Published, An Apology for the Business of a *Pawnbroker*, by a *Pawnbroker*.
- "Can there any good come out of Nazareth?" *Daily Advertiser*.
1745. Jan. 15. George Woodfall, Bookseller, *King's Arms*, near Craig's Court, Charing Cross. This day is Published A Plain Answer to a late Pamphlet, entitled "*The Business of a Pawn-*

- broker*, stated and defended, shewing the false reasoning and mistating of several Facts contained in that Pamphlet: and also discovering and displaying some of the many secrets in that Business practised by the initiated Pawnbrokers. With some hints humbly proposed for their Regulation. By an Impartial Hand. 'From thine own words art thou judged.' Printed and sold by George Woodfall at the 'King's Arms' near Craig's Court, Charing Cross." *Daily Advertiser*.
1745. Jan. 15. *Reasons against Licensing Pawnbrokers*, etc.
Printed for M. Cooper in Paternoster Row. *Daily Advertiser*.
1745. Jan. 23. "All persons following the Business of *Pawnbroking* and no other who are disposed to submit themselves to a Parliamentary Enquiry, are desired to meet their Brethren on Friday next at Five o'Clock, at the *Crown Tavern*, behind the Royal Exchange, to consider of a proper application to Parliament." *Daily Advertiser*.
1752. George Bowers, No. 13, Marsham Street, Westminster. He was a pawnbroker. This is the first time any house has been described by number.

CURRENT ARCHAEOLOGY.

SILCHESTER.

The excavations in 1901 were in progress from May to November, and resulted in the complete exploration of *insula* xxvii, and of the part of *insula* xxii left untouched from the previous year's work. The results were of considerable interest, and fully up to the average of former years.

Of the buildings discovered, those in *insula* xxii were small and unimportant, but in xxvii three houses of considerable size were cleared, all on the western side of the area, but extending so far across it as to leave little room for any but small buildings on the east, and in consequence nothing of importance was found on that side.

Of the three houses, that to the north was the largest and most important, of the courtyard type, but increased to almost double its original size by an additional building on the east. It had the usual entrance vestibule from the street, with a corridor running northwards from it and turning east and then south, with the principal group of buildings, the winter rooms, placed at the end of its southern arm. They were three in number, having mosaic pavements of coarse *tesserae* with panels of finer work; the central room opened southward into an apsidal chamber, somewhat more than a semi-circle in plan, having a mosaic panel of good design, which has been taken up and will be added to the collection in the Reading Museum. Two rooms, opening on to the north walk of the corridor, were of especial interest, as having, sunk in their floors of drab *tesserae*, a number of small earthenware vessels, set with their mouths upwards, and containing bones of birds and of young lambs. But perhaps the chief interest of this house lies in the evidence of the nature of its construction given by the pieces of wood and plaster found in its ruins. Part at any rate had been of half-timber work

and "wattle and daub" on dwarf walls of masonry. The house had been destroyed by fire, and the thick plastering in consequence baked into a brick strong enough to withstand the attacks of time and weather; and many pieces of it were found, stamped with a zigzag pattern roughly made with a wooden stamp. Cottages may still be seen in the neighbourhood showing by their construction their lineal descent from these Roman houses.

The second house was also of the courtyard type, or less importance and perhaps later date than the first. It contained a number of winter rooms warmed by hypocausts, one of which had *pilae* of circular bricks, a feature hitherto unexampled in the course of the excavations.

The third house, that to the south, was of the corridor type, but had been in great measure destroyed, and was of inferior interest to the others.

In the eastern part of the *insula* no remains of importance were found.

Pits and wells were few in number, and nothing of more than ordinary interest occurred. Among the most noteworthy objects found during the season were: A flue tile on which was scratched *FECIT TUBUM CLEMENTINUS*, giving thus the name of the maker and of the object, and incidentally another proof that Latin was the language of the common craftsmen of Calleva; part of a sculptured stone door-head and of two stone finials; a fine pair of iron tyres, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, which must have been shrunk on to their wheels; several lead and pewter vessels, including a very fine bucket; a few iron tools; and the usual collection of bone, bronze, and glass objects. One fragment of white glass showed a fish and palm roughly scratched on it, a conjunction certainly suggesting a Christian origin. Among the coins was one example of a plated British coin of a well-known type.

The results of the season's work were exhibited as usual in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House, May 30th to June 10th.

The Committee propose, during the present year, the thirteenth season of the work, to excavate the area near

the east gate, adjoining the churchyard of the parish church of Silchester, to the west of the two square temples uncovered in 1890.

The Honorary Treasurer of the Excavation Fund, F. G. Hilton-Price, Esq. (17, Collingham Gardens, South Kensington), or the Honorary Secretary, W. H. St. John Hope, Esq. (Burlington House, W.), will be glad to receive further subscriptions and donations.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

April 2nd, 1902.

Judge BAYLIS, K.C., in the Chair.

Mr. C. J. PRAETORIUS, F.S.A., exhibited a small lace apron, the property of Lady Reade, of Carreglwyd, and by tradition a relic of one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour, who married one of the Hollands of Plas Berw. The apron was made up of several pieces of fine point lace, apparently Genoese, somewhat roughly sewn together. A contemporary allusion to the use of such aprons was quoted by Mr. Praetorius from Stephen Gosson's *Pleasant Quippes for Upstart Gentle Women*, 1596.

"These aprons white of finest thread,
So choicelic tied, so dearly bought,
So finely fringed, so nicely spread,
So quaintly cut, so richly wrought,
Were they in work to save their coats,
They need not cost so many groats."

Mr. E. TOWRY WHITE, F.S.A., exhibited a number of Egyptian antiquities from his own collection, and gave the following description of several specimens:

The first object to which I should like to draw your attention is the small bronze mummy case for a fish. I cannot say where it was found, as it was obtained at Sotheby's by a dealer who bought it with a lot of other things. At that time it was an almost shapeless mass of oxide and clay or sand, and was naturally supposed to be one of the bronze models of fish which, though by no means common, are not exceptionally rare, as I believe several hundreds were found together in a small stone coffer at Esneh some years ago. But whilst this specimen was being cleaned it was noticed that there seemed to be something beside sand or clay in the solution; it was therefore taken out and examined, when it was found that it contained a quantity of mummy cloth and bones. On my acquiring the fish and bones I took them to Mr. Boulenger, of the Natural History Museum, who very kindly took a great amount of trouble with them, carefully sorting all the bones from the cloth and oxide fragments, with the result that he found quite enough to enable him to identify the fish as a very small specimen of *Iatus Niloticus*, a kind of perch which frequently grows to a large size (as much as 6 feet long, I believe). The model is a very fairly accurate copy of the fish, with the exception that the scales are greatly exaggerated in size. As you will observe, the casting is hollow, and the mummy, which was rolled up into the shape of a small cigar, was inserted through the hole at the bottom, which was closed by a lid, now wanting. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson says, on the authority of Strabo, that the *Iatus* was the sacred fish of Latopolis (the present Esneh) but doubts

if it was the same fish as is now called *Latus*, suggesting that it was the "Raad" or electric fish of the Nile. As, however, *Latus Niloticus* has commonly been found mummified, and the electric fish, so far as I know, never, I think his suggestion is probably wrong. Mummied fish are by no means rare; they are simply the fish dried and preserved and wrapped in mummy cloth, usually flattened out until they look more like soles than anything else. This bronze case containing a mummied *Latus*, though it be but a baby one, is, so far as I know, unique up to the present; but it is a most dangerous proceeding to call any antiquity unique, for it almost invariably leads to several others turning up, and this may be the case in the present instance.

The next thing I will mention is a wooden bolt, also not a common object, which is strange, as one would have expected such a useful article to have been more frequently preserved, especially in a climate where wood, if not in a position where ants can get at it, seems to last for any length of time. This one is made of acacia, a wood much used by the ancient Egyptians for articles requiring something harder than sycamore, the other kind of wood which was in common use. It seems never to have been painted; but it is possible that the paint, which is always a water-colour, may have perished if the bolt has been for any length of time under water. From its size it has probably been the bolt of a box or cupboard, as it is not stout enough for house work. As a piece of carpentry it is ingenious and simple, and seems to have been fastened to the box with wooden pins, as if bronze had been used there would have been some stain or oxide round the holes. Little or nothing is known about Egyptian locks or bolts. There is one on a small door in the Gizeh Museum, and a broken one—or rather part of one—in the Edwards Museum at University College, and I am uncertain if there are any more; at any rate they are very rare. I may point out that they are frequently illustrated in paintings of doors, and that from the bolt was derived the hieroglyphic sign for S — and that in the earlier and best drawn examples it is shown almost exactly like the specimen before you. Professor Petrie's theory is that the nick in the middle was for sealing the bolt with a piece of string passed over it to a seal above and below; this seal would be made in either clay or wax.

May I add a few words about what I have called a drill boss? My reason for mentioning it is that Professor Petrie calls them mace-heads, and I cannot understand what useful or harmful purpose they would serve as such. The holes are so small that only the thinnest stick could be got through, and it seems to me that at the least blow it would break; also the shape does not lend itself to the purpose for which a mace is required. Moreover, all that I have seen have the hole polished for about half its depth as though by friction, and my theory is that they were the bosses used to rest against the chest to receive the spindle of a bow drill, either for drilling out the hard stone vases which the prehistoric men were such adepts at making, or for obtaining fire, but in either case used in much the same way. I know that Professor Petrie found two or three with sticks through them and one with bone or ivory, but still I do not think that that is conclusive, especially in the face of the fact that all are partly polished inside the hole. They are fairly common

and range in size from about 3 inches diameter to 5 inches and are all of much the same shape, and all of hard stone and hand made, not turned on a lathe.

Mr. E. B. S. SHEPHERD read a paper on the church of the Grey Friars at Newgate, in which he showed how the Friars' church could be recovered with approximate certainty from the present condition of the site, with the help of old plans and records. The paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

May 7th, 1902.

Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., *President*, in the chair.

Mr. JOHN HALL exhibited a gilt clock of the sixteenth century, made by Bartholomew Newsam.

Mr. EDWARD JAMES exhibited eight gilt metal clocks of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which were described by Mr. PERCY WEBSTER as follows:

Dr. Derham, the first English writer on the subject of the antiquity of horology, says, in 1696, in the *Artificial Clockmaker*, that it is thought to have had its beginning in Germany, within less than 200 years, that is to say, about 1500.

It has since been proved that clocks with *weights* are of far greater antiquity, but so far as we know, mainsprings were first used about that date by Peter Hele, of Nuremburg. It is difficult to determine the date of some existing specimens, as the earliest seldom bear the maker's name, place, or date; but if they were only invented in 1500, they had made wonderful progress in the art by 1520 to 1530, much greater than at any other period. The mainspring was at first not enclosed in a box or barrel, but wound round the winding spindle or arbor, and the other end fastened to a pillar or stud in the plates.

The force of the spring was, it is said, at first equalized by an extremely ingenious contrivance, called the "Stackreed," and then by the fusee.

From a dated example we know that the fusee was in use as early as 1525, but many specimens of later date are met with, having the "Stackreed" arrangement, and it is not at all certain that the "Stackreed" was not invented later for use in watches, as it occupies less room than the fusee, and all clocks of this period either have the mainspring uncontrolled or have a fusee. However that may be, it does not appear to have been used after the sixteenth century.

It may be mentioned that in early writings the word watch frequently meant clock, as we understand it, and was applied until quite recently to the "going" part of a clock.

The first watches were not oval in shape, as usually supposed, but were of flat cylindrical form, like small table clocks, with a perforated lid or cover over the hand and with a ring for suspension above the figure XII.

It is not at all a safe guide to the age of these clocks to go by the supposed date of various inventions, as some makers continued then, as now, to use old styles and models.

Undoubtedly the earliest movements of these clocks were all made of iron or steel, but brass was very early used for parts, and in the

majority of them one finds the wheels of iron and the plates of brass until about 1600, when the movements were mainly constructed of brass.

It does not appear to be recorded when metal screws were first used in clocks, but it is rare to find any screws in early sixteenth century clocks, the movement being held together by means of pins, wedges, and latches. Screws became common later in the century, but still some makers only used pins, especially in this country.

These table and cabinet clocks do not appear to have been made in any number. In England they are occasionally to be seen with a name and "London" engraved upon them, but they were without doubt "made in Germany"; in fact, the only specimens I have seen have been made by Bartholomew Newsam and Michael Newwars. Even when they were made here it was generally by Dutch and German artists, as the style and the names in various records show.

This is also borne out, together with a description of their performance, by Shakespeare, when he says :

A woman that is like a *German* clock
Still a-repairing, ever out of frame,
And never going aright.

Love's Labour's Lost, III, 1.

One occasionally meets with sixteenth or seventeenth century table clocks and also watches, in nearly original condition, but it is very rare to find one of the upright kind that has not been converted and a pendulum added, often with the addition of a minute hand, which leads many to suppose that they must have been made after the application of the pendulum about 1650.

Among the exhibits the earliest is the one in the form of a temple supported on the backs of four dogs of quaint design, and surmounted by an engraved dome, pierced to allow the emission of the sound of the bell. The small trap door in the side of the case was used for viewing the fusee, and is frequently found in sixteenth century clocks. The date 1541 is punched on a shield in the dome. Dubois, in his account of the Soltzkoff Collection, illustrates a very fine specimen dated 1530 in the same way.

By this period the art had evidently become well developed, as the clockmakers of Paris were in 1544 a strong enough body to become incorporated. The original movement of this interesting specimen has disappeared; it now has a striking movement of the period of Queen Anne.

The next, in order of date, is square in form with pilasters at the angles, with hemispherical bell on top, held in position by cross straps. The case is of copper gilt and very richly engraved with Adam and Eve, initials and a coat-of-arms, surrounded by ornamental scroll work of the period, and bears the date 1562. This style of clock was very popular in the sixteenth century and can be seen in pictures as early as 1508.

It is very curious that, both in this example and the next, the figure 5 in the date has at some period been altered to the figure 6, and the alteration can only be detected by the aid of a glass. It is a matter of speculation why this has been done; the clocks may have

been sold as second-hand, the vendor not wishing the purchaser to think that they were worn out.

No. 3 is a very good specimen, as it has very largely escaped the repairer, and being dated enables us to know exactly how these clocks were made in the year 1577. The movement is composed of iron, including the barrels and fuzees, and some screws are used. The trains of the wheels are contained in upright bars or plates, the "going" or "watch" part in the front, the striking behind, and the alarm at the side.

The escapement, before the pendulum was added, was an uncontrolled balance, which vibrated in the space between the top of the movement and the upper part of the case. The only method used at that period to regulate the timekeeping was to increase or diminish the power of the mainspring. Some few made the arms of the balance "bank" or "counter" against a bristle or piece of catgut, fixed on a lever, which could be moved as required. The clock originally showed the hours only, and the pegs or small knobs round the hour circle were for the purpose of feeling the position of the hand in the dark and were also useful for the blind. These pegs were universally used and only went out when the concentric minute hand came in.

The dial and index on the back of the case was used to show the last hour struck, and was very necessary, as these clocks from the nature of their construction frequently struck a wrong hour, and had to be struck round for twelve hours to put them right again.

It will be noticed that the initials of the maker, M.G., in a shield, and the date, are struck with a punch in a similar manner to that in which silver plate is marked. In addition to this, one often finds the punch mark of a town, the most common being that of Augsburg.

In the seventeenth century engraved names were the rule.

No. 4 is similar to the last in size and arrangement of the various parts; but in this case the movement is almost wholly constructed of brass, although it cannot be of much later date than the preceding. The case is in the style of the Renaissance and decorated with engraved strapwork and medallions. It is probably French, of the time of Henri IV.

About the end of the sixteenth century, and during the seventeenth, the artists of Augsburg were famous for making curious and fantastic clocks of quaint form, often with automaton figures.

The mechanical part of clockmaking had by 1680 so far developed, that Becker says clocks were made to strike the hours and quarters, alarm, light and extinguish candles and smuff them at stated hours, play airs on bells or organs, exhibit figures dancing, scenic representations, fountains, and a thousand other things.

His remarks probably referred to rarities existing in Germany. J. Smith, an English clockmaker, writing about the same period, *viz.* 1675, clearly shows that the ordinary house clock of his time went for thirty hours, had one hand, and was still controlled by a balance, instead of a pendulum.

Among the curious class, we may place the crucifix clock here shown, No. 5. The case is of copper, flat chased and water gilt; the movement, which is concealed in the base within the bell, is of the usual construction of the period (about 1600). The cross is

hollow to allow a rod from the movement to pass through and turn a ball on top once in twelve hours; upon this ball are engraved the hour numerals. The Christ is well modelled in silver, and the skull at the foot of the cross is also silver, but the two figures are metal gilt, as is the case. Clocks were also made in the form of the Virgin, whose crown, marked with twelve hours, was made to revolve against a sceptre held in the hand of the figure.

No. 6 is an hexagonal table clock signed Simon Gintler Gedanensis. This piece is of the first half of the seventeenth century; the construction of the movement is in principle the same as that of the upright cabinet clocks, the difference being that the trains of wheels work between plates instead of in an upright frame, and the hour bell is below instead of above.

This form of clock was very popular in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and continued to be made until about 1720.

It was required of the apprentices of Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm, before being allowed to practise their art, that they should submit their masterpiece in the form of a square or hexagonal table clock. Masters' sons were free to choose which, and eight months' time was allowed for the completion of the task.

The specimen exhibited is curious in having Arabic numerals (those, I mean, used by Arabs at the present time), showing that these clocks were early exported. On opening the bottom of the case, it will be observed that the balance cock, click, and hammer-head are richly perforated and gilt; all this, being done by hand, must have occupied an enormous amount of time, and when done was hidden except to the curious and enquiring.

No. 7 is a rich specimen of table clock of a rather later date, and is an interesting example, not only on account of the decorative work on the case, but from its striking the quarters on a small bell and having a concentric minute hand that is undoubtedly original. It is signed with the maker's name, Josua Wegelin, but not the town.

No. 8 is an hexagonal table clock in gilt brass case, supported on scroll feet, with silver dial, in tooled leather outer case.

This clock repeats the hours and quarters by pulling a string—a contrivance invented in this country in different forms, by Daniel Quare in 1676, and by Barlow about 1687. Repeaters were also constructed on various principles by many of the foreign makers and attained great popularity. This clock was made early in the eighteenth century and is unsigned.

Professor W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., F.S.A., read a paper on "Some Discoveries of the Prehistoric Iron Age at Bigbury Camp on the Pilgrims' Way, near Canterbury," which gave very valuable evidence of the remote antiquity of the Way. Many of the iron objects discovered were exhibited. The paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

Messrs. HILTON PRICE, GREG, and RICE took part in the discussion.

June 4th, 1902.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., *President*, in the Chair.

MR. T. ROBINSON exhibited a yellow marble funerary urn of Roman style, bearing an inscription

DIS MANIBUS QUINTI FABII FELICI CONS.

The immediate *provenance* of the urn was a cottage at Braintree, in Essex, whither it was said to have come from Middleton Hall in the same county, but it is doubtless of Italian origin.

MR. KENNARD and MR. F. W. READER exhibited two bone objects of uncertain use found in excavations on the line of London Wall. They occurred, with many others of a like nature, in the Roman level, and are apparently of Romano-British date. They are roughly squared at one end, and have on each of the four faces of the square a varying number of shallow grooves, which have been supposed to have been used in the polishing of bronze pins, in default of a better explanation.

MRS. HALE HILTON exhibited a neolithic flint arrow-head lately found by her in the Isle of Wight.

MR. H. JONES, F.S.A., read a paper on the exploration of the site of a Roman building in Greenwich Park. The building seems to have been thoroughly destroyed, and beyond three pieces of flooring, and a block of walling about 6 feet by 2 feet, built of Kentish ragstone, nothing has at present been found from which the plan can be deduced. But the objects of Roman date which have been obtained seem to point to the fact that the owners were men of considerable wealth. Fragments of moulded and inscribed slabs of white marble, a piece of green porphyry, the arm of a female statue of good style carved in oolite, and a long series of coins containing 114 varieties, and dating from Mark Antony to Honorius, the series from Claudius (41-54 A.D.) to Honorius (395-423) being complete, are among the most interesting results of the excavations, which are not yet completed.

DR. ROBERT MUNRO followed with a paper on "Prehistoric Horses," dealing with the arguments for and against their supposed domestication by early man, which is printed at p. 109.

SIR H. HOWORTH and Messrs. HILTON and GREEN took part in the discussion.

ON BIGBURY CAMP AND THE PILGRIMS' WAY.¹

By PROFESSOR W. BOYD DAWKINS, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

1. Introductory.
2. The Bigbury Settlement.
3. The Discoveries inside the Settlement.
4. The Settlement of Prehistoric Iron Age.
5. The Pilgrims' Way, also of the Prehistoric Iron Age.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Plan of Bigbury Camp and Pilgrims' Way, from the 6-inch Ordnance Map.
2. Spears, Dagger, Axe, Adze, Hammers.
3. Sickles and Bill-hooks.
4. Coulter, Ploughshares, Chisel.
5. Pot-hooks.
6. Shackles.
7. Chain.
8. Snaffle Bits.

1. *Introductory.*

The "British Camp" in Bigbury Wood, in the parish of Harbledown, about two miles due west of Canterbury, has long been known. It is briefly described by Hussey in *Archæologia Cantiana*, and considered by him to stand in direct relation to the ford over the Stour, "Stonesford," about half a mile to the south-east.²

Within it in 1861 iron implements were obtained consisting of a ploughshare, coulter, cattle-goad, horse-bit and tire of a wheel, now in the Canterbury Museum. It has also been mentioned by Payne and other writers on the antiquities of Kent. In 1895 in the course of an examination of it, in company with the Rev. H. H. Winwood, I obtained further evidence as to its antiquity, from the objects obtained by the workmen in the gravel-pits in the part marked A on the map (Fig. 1). Further discoveries have since been made of various articles, mostly of iron, which seem to be of sufficient importance to be brought before the Institute, not merely because they fix

¹ Read May 7th, 1902.

² In the Ordnance Maps, near Tonford farm.

the archaeological age of Bigbury, but also because they prove that the "Pilgrims' Way" is an ancient road of the same age as that of the above settlement.

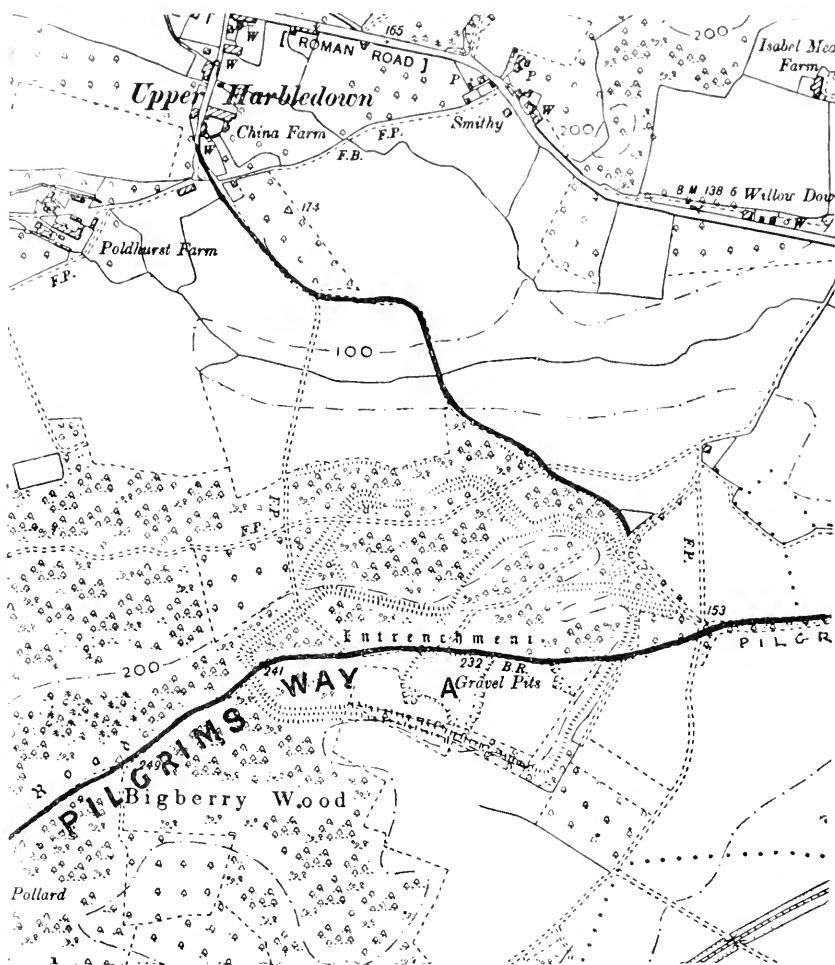


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF BIGBURY CAMP AND PILGRIMS' WAY.

2. The Bigbury Settlement.

An examination of the irregular series of intrenchments (Fig. 1), and more particularly the fact that the fosse and ramp are not more than 4 feet below and above the ground

level, and the fact that the former is on the inside of the ramp on the west, south, and north sides, prove that it has been the site of a town and not a fortress. It is situated about 200 feet above the sea on a bed of gravel resting on dry Thanet sand. It overlooks the valley of the Stour to the south, and is divided from the heights of Harbledown to the north by a broad valley. The area included in the ramparts is about 1,800 feet from east to west, and varies from 500 to 1,000 feet from north to south. To the north is an annexe about 1,000 feet from east to west and 500 feet from north to south. It is for the most part covered with a dense growth of scrub and hop-pole plantations, and occupies the eastern end of a large wooded tract extending many miles westwards. In its general plan it resembles the Romano-British village of Woodcuts explored by General Pitt-Rivers. There are two entrances, the one on the east being approached by the deep sunk winding Pilgrims' Road from Canterbury. This road passes out on the west in the direction of Chart-ham Hatch and Bridge farm. There is also another old track passing from the eastern entrance northwards to China farm and thence to the Watling Street. It is obvious therefore that Bigbury stands in the closest connection to the roads under consideration, and that both were used by the same people, and may be referred to the same date.

3. *The Discoveries inside the Settlement.*

The following is the list of the discoveries which have been made inside the settlement at point A of the plan Fig. 1. It includes only those which are preserved in the Manchester Museum.

Socketed spear heads of iron.

Tanged iron dagger.

Iron axe.

Iron adze.

Two iron hammers.

Two iron sickles.

Two iron bill-hooks.

Iron coulter.

Two iron ploughshares.

Iron chisel.

Two iron pot-hooks.

Two pairs of iron shackles.

Iron chain.

One iron snaffle bit.

Iron snaffle bit plated with bronze.

Iron ring, bronze-plated.

Circular iron object plated with bronze.

Brown pottery.

The two small socketed spears (Pl. I, Fig. 2*a*) are about 4 inches long, and leaf-shaped. They are of a type which occurs in the settlements of the Prehistoric Iron Age at Hunsbury near Northampton, and in the Lake Village of Glastonbury.

The tanged dagger (Fig. 2*b*), blade 10 inches long and tang 3 inches, is of the same type as those found in the above-mentioned localities, that from Hunsbury being 13·5 inches long.

The iron axe (Fig. 2*c*), 8·25 inches long, has a cutting edge of 2·4 inches. The adze (*d*) is 10·8 inches long, and has an edge measuring 1·9 inches. Both occur at Hunsbury, and the latter at Glastonbury.

The two hammers (*e*) are respectively 4 inches and 4½ inches long.

The larger of the two sickles (Fig. 3*a*) measures on the outer curve 20·5 + inches, the smaller 16·9 + inches. The larger has a blade 2·4 inches wide. The base of each of the blades has been turned over for the reception of a wooden handle which was kept in place also by a nail.

Blades similar to these with the wooden handles in them occur in the Lake Village of Glastonbury.

The two bill-hooks (*b*) measure respectively 11 inches and 10 inches along the outer curve, the blade of the wider of the two being 2 inches across. Both have their bases turned over for the reception of the handle, which was further secured by a nail. This form of bill-hook also occurs at Glastonbury.

A massive hook (Pl. II, Fig. 4*a*), measuring 16·8 inches, and with a short thick cutting edge 6 inches long, is probably the coulter of a plough. It is similar to that figured in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, under the

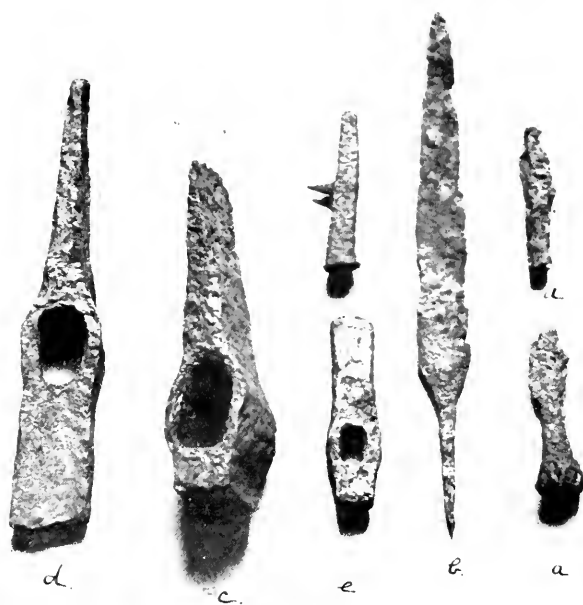


FIG. 2. *a*, SPEARS. *b*, DAGGER. *c*, AXE. *d*, ADZE. *e*, HAMMERS.

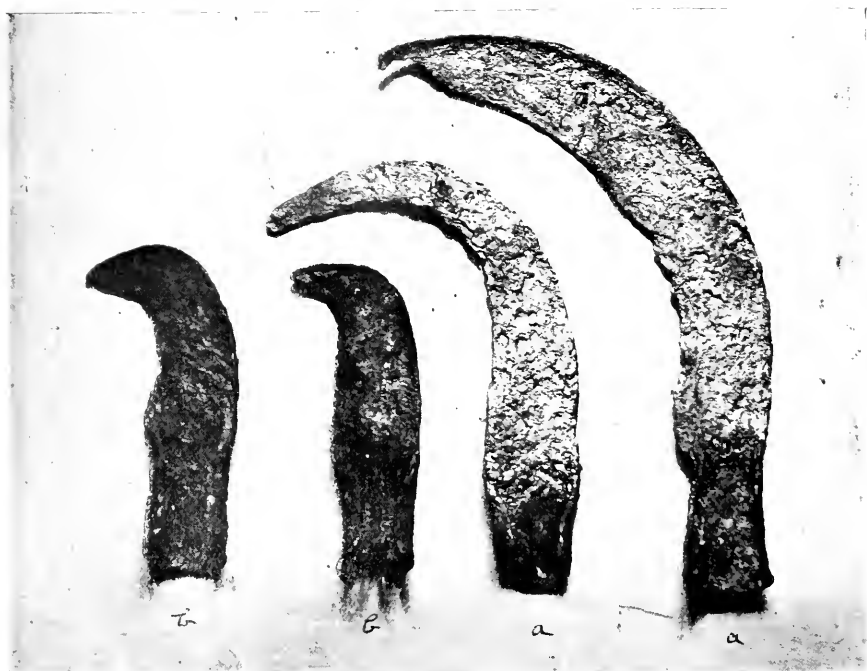


FIG. 3. *a*, SICKLES. *b*, BILLHOOKS.
IRON OBJECTS FOUND IN BIGBURY CAMP.

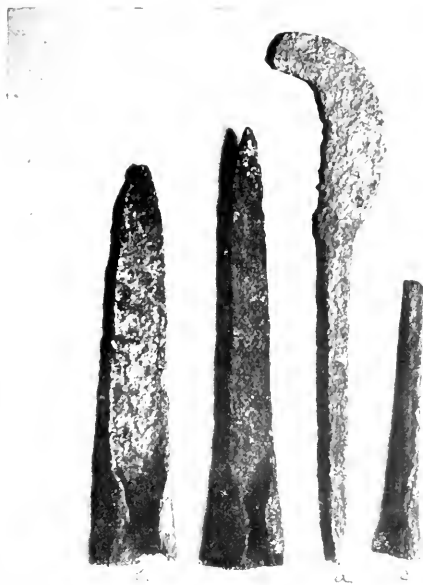


FIG. 4. *a.* COULTER. *b.* PLOUGHSHARES. *c.* CHISEL.

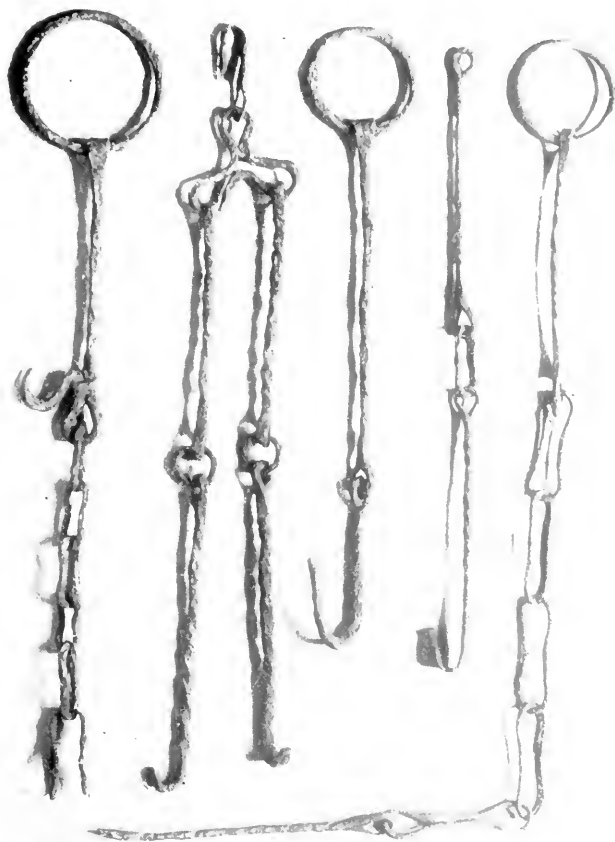


FIG. 5. POTHOOKS.

head of *aratrum*. A somewhat similar implement to this has been met with at Glastonbury. The tang is oblong in section, the long side measuring .75 inches, and must, from its size, have been fixed in a massive piece of wood.

The two ploughshares (*b*) are respectively 18.6 inches and 12.3 inches long, and 1.3 inches and 2 inches broad. They consist of an obtusely-pointed bar of iron with the base hammered out and turned over so as to receive the end of the wooden share.

Iron ploughshares of this form have been met with in settlements of the Prehistoric Iron Age at Hunsbury, and at Mount Caburn near Lewes (described by General Pitt-Rivers).

The iron chisel (*c*) measures 8.8 inches, and is similar to those found at Hunsbury.

The five pot-hooks (Fig. 5) vary in length from 15 to 44 inches, and have from 1 to 3 hooks. They are made of twisted lengths of iron connected by links, mostly of hour-glass shape, and each has a circular ring for suspension. I am not aware that any pot-hooks of this kind have been recorded. It may, however, be noted that a pot-hook more elaborate than these, with a sliding attachment, and with one twisted iron bar like the above, has been discovered at Hunsbury.

The two pairs of iron shackles (Pl. III, Fig. 6) are made of two triangular links connected together with an hour-glass link, the two other angles of the triangle bearing two movable bars bent so as to form a segment of a circle. The end of one of these bars fits into a loop in the other so as to form a circle of about 3 inches in diameter. The more perfect of the two is 15.5 inches long. They are too large for handcuffs, and were probably used for fetters for men or for hobbles for horses.

An iron chain (Fig. 7), 17.9 feet in length, is mostly formed of two kinds of links, hour-glass shaped (*a*) and plain (*b*). At each end of it are two bars of iron (*c*), so bent as to form a circle 7 inches in diameter when they are fastened together. At intervals of 32 inches are other bars, each bent into a half circle (*d*), terminating in a link (*c*), so arranged as to pass through a plain link (*b*) in the chain, and form a circle of the same diameter

as those at the end. In each of these lateral circles the rest of the circumference is formed of three hour-glass links of the chain. Each of these half-circles is fastened by the free link (*c*) at the end of the bent bar passing through the plain link (*b*) in the chain, and being secured by a staple or padlock. The circles may have been used as iron collars for a body of prisoners or for a chain gang. They are obviously unfitted to secure horses or cattle, as they are too large for the feet, and too small for the necks. I am not aware of the discovery of any similar chain to throw light on the question.

The two snaffle bits (Fig. 8) are each formed of three pieces, with large rings for the reception of the reins, measuring 2·8 inches and 2·9 inches in diameter. One of these is exactly like a bit found at Hunsbury. The other consists of two iron rings attached to the two outer bars of the bit, the middle portion being gone. These are plated with bronze. Their form is graceful and belongs to the art known in Great Britain as Late Celtic.

A bronze-plated ring for a strap ornamented in imitation of the sewing on leather obviously belongs to harness.

The only fragment of pottery which I have been able to rescue is the flat bottom of a vessel of grey ware, of a type commonly met with in association with the remains of the Prehistoric Iron Age. It was also used in Roman times in Britain, and is abundantly represented in the various refuse heaps. I was informed by one of the men, Samuel Bowdick, that they had found pottery along with the iron implements, some time before my visit in 1896. The fragment which I obtained, along with several of the above iron implements, had been thrown away by the men and buried in the gravel pit. Fortunately they remembered the exact spot and dug it out before my eyes. This led to the other articles being preserved, which are now recorded in this paper. It is to be hoped that a systematic exploration will be undertaken of this interesting site.

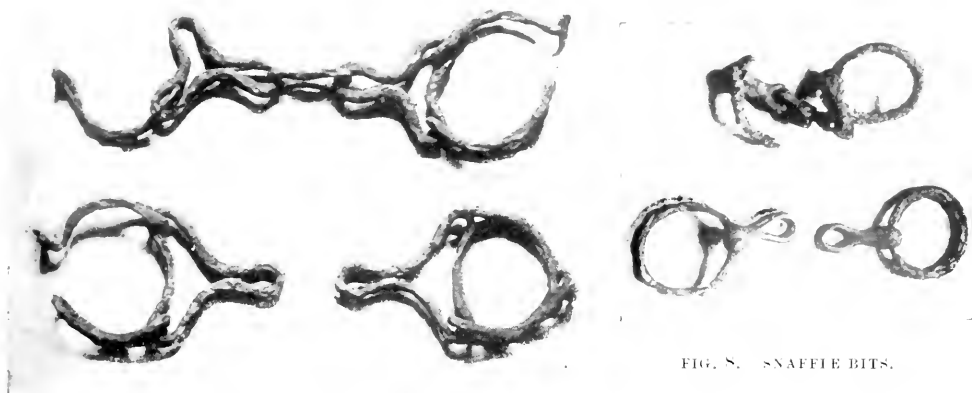


FIG. 6. SHACKLES.

FIG. 8. SNAFFLE BITS.



FIG. 7. CHAIN.
FROM OBJECTS FOUND IN BIGBURY CAMP.

4. *The Settlement of Prehistoric Iron Age.*

The examination of the whole of these remains indicates clearly the archaeological age of the Bigbury settlement. It falls into line with a series of settlements of Prehistoric Iron Age, such as Mount Caburn explored by the late General Pitt-Rivers, the Lake Village of Glastonbury explored by Mr. Bulleid, and Hunsbury, the remains from which are preserved in the museum at Northampton. They are pre-Roman, and probably belong to a period ranging from one to two centuries before the invasion of Britain by Caesar.

5. *The Pilgrims' Way, also of Prehistoric Iron Age.*

If, however, the Bigbury settlement belongs to the Prehistoric Iron Age, it is obvious that its position on the Pilgrims' Way (Fig. 1) proves that the latter must be assigned to the same remote period. The Pilgrims' Way passes westward and southwards from its junction with the Watling Street near Canterbury through the settlement of Bigbury, past Chartham Hatch, through Chilham, and Godmersham Park, to Boughton Aluph and Eastwell Park. From this point it runs along the bare chalk, on the southern side of the crest of the Downs, by Charing, Lenham, Hollingbourn, Detling, to the River Medway, passing Kits Coty House on the right, and the cemetery of the Prehistoric Iron Age at Aylesford on the left at a distance of about a mile. It crosses the Medway at Lower Halling, thence sweeping westward on the southern slope of the Downs through Wrotham and Kemsing to Otford, the ford over the Darent. To the west of this river it passes through Chevening Park to Merstham and Reigate, crossing the River Mole to the north of Dorking. From this it runs through Shere and Guildford, crossing the Wey at the latter place. Thence it runs due west along the line of the Hog's Back to Farnham, to join still further to the west the network of trackways of Surrey, Hampshire and Berkshire. It belongs to the same system of roads

which in other parts of Britain are clearly proved to belong to the Prehistoric Iron Age. It was undoubtedly used by the pilgrims to Canterbury, long after the settlements which it linked together had utterly perished. Throughout its course it is represented by fragments of existing roads and tracks, locally known as "The Pilgrims' Way."

There is nothing exceptional in the use of these ancient lines of communication, long after the prehistoric settlements which they linked together had perished. It is mainly a question of the easiest road. In this case, as in the Icknield Way, passing southwards from near Bury St. Edmunds along the edge of the chalk Downs, into Berkshire, the line of travel would be dry and without forest or morass. For these reasons these roads would be used for communication between centres of later origin. In some cases, however, their persistent use long after the making of later and better roads is very remarkable. The track way, for example, known in Northamptonshire as "the Welsh Way," passing by Hunsbury Camp, Northampton, to Banbury, and thence to the Cotswolds and into Wales, has been used by Welsh drovers within the last half of the nineteenth century, although it is, in portions of its course, a mere track through open fields, and in spite of the existence of good roads. There is, therefore, nothing exceptional in the fact that the Pilgrims' Way should have been used by the pilgrims to Canterbury, and that it should be known by their name, although it forms part of a system of roads made to connect settlements and fortresses of the Prehistoric Iron Age, the names of which had perished before the English conquest of Britain.

THE EARLY POTTERS' ART IN BRITAIN.¹

By PROFESSOR T. McKENNY HUGHES, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

1. *Introduction.*

The importance of potsherds in archaeological and historical research can hardly be exaggerated. Fragments of pottery are practically imperishable. Even in the case of coarse ware which has not been baked or only imperfectly fired, although the vessel returns to clay, its form is often indicated by the streak of earth of different texture and colour. Generally, however, a vessel that has passed through the kiln resists the action of changes of temperature and moisture even in our climate, and Roman or mediaeval rubbish pits yield up their broken vessels much as they were when they were thrown in.

When Norman work is found associated with architecture of later date it is often too hastily inferred that a church or other building of Norman age once stood there, whereas the true explanation is that a ruined castle or ecclesiastical edifice in the neighbourhood has been resorted to as a quarry, and its dressed stones have been used for the new building with the beautiful mouldings turned inwards so that only the flat surfaces were exposed, till some recent restoration has revealed the character of the block, and it is carefully built in again so that the mouldings can be seen, to indicate the supposed Norman original of the building.

No mistake of that kind can occur in the case of pottery. Each fragment truly tells its own tale.

Pottery is a fragile material. The pitcher got broken on the way to the well and the earthen cooking-pan cracked in the flame or slipped on the burning wood, and the useless pieces were thrown out of the way into the ditch or other usual receptacle for household rubbish.

¹ Read March 5th, 1902.

There they remained until the necessity arose for clearing the channels, when they were thrown out to form part of the surface soil, or in many cases until modern excavations have accidentally exposed them. In such places potsherds are abundant and representative of all the common types of ware used in a household of the period. That period may be of very long duration, and often must be regarded as a succession of periods during which many changes have passed over the place.

It is not objects of rare occurrence that are of most value for classification or the determination of stages in unwritten history, but those objects of which we are almost sure to find traces if they ever existed. From this point of view pottery is the most valuable of all, seeing that from the nature of the case fragments must be common wherever pottery has been in common use.

In most cases pottery has distinctive characters which may be recognized even on small fragments. Similar requirements produced similar results, and therefore the pottery must bear a constant relation to the habits and customs of the people who made and used it. Sometimes it is found to have been modified as time went on. Sometimes a new type is adopted by or imposed upon a conquered people, but among people of low civilization it would appear that in ancient times as now domestic appliances were but slowly changed.

There is much to be learned from potsherds as to the conditions which have prevailed in any district. The character of the pottery must depend upon the nature of the clay, and we have to enquire whether the potters found it on the spot or had to go far afield for any of it. We can see whether they selected a clay free from fluxes, or "race," or chips of stone. We can judge from fragments whether the potters understood the results of underbaking or overburning; what skill they had in manipulation and what taste in ornament.

Potsherds are in archaeology what characteristic and representative species are in geology. They tell us the succession and geographical distribution of the people who made and used the ware. There is nothing else that gives us such trustworthy and generally available

data by which to trace the story of migration and conquest as the fragments of common pottery left where broken—an imperishable record of an episode in history.

Yet where can we find the fragments of pottery of various districts arranged geographically, and in accordance with their associations, in such a manner as to enable us to compare the general *facies* of new finds with that of which something has been already established?

The opportunity is passing away for ever, as the destruction of this kind of evidence is going on apace. New residences are being built over the homes of the ancient folk, and there is only a limited number of sites where such evidence can be obtained in the future.

In the short contribution which I offer to the Institute, my aim is to point out by reference to special examples the value of the evidence derived from potsherds; to suggest a modification of commonly received views in respect of the classification of some ancient pottery; to insist upon the continuity of the potters' art in Britain from the earliest times; and to explain the apparent sharp break between the pottery which is grouped under the head British and Roman ware, as well as between the Roman and pre-Norman English ware, and between the Saxon and mediaeval.

2. *Nomenclature.*

The word British is a convenient name for all ware of the character manufactured and used in this country previous to the Roman occupation, with the exception of that which has been described under the title "Late Celtic."¹

Roman is used to designate all that type of pottery which was brought in by the Romans and soon entirely superseded the native ware.

Saxon is applied to that poor but often highly-ornamented pottery found in cemeteries with weapons and personal ornaments, which are referred to the

¹ Arthur Evans, *Archæologia*, 2nd Ser., Vol. II (Vol. 52, pt. 2), pp 315-388.

Teutonic people who came over in small bodies from the continent after the withdrawal of the Roman legions and formed a large part of the English people before the Norman Conquest.

Mediaeval includes the pottery that came in soon after the Norman Conquest, and lasted without much change down to the time of Elizabeth at any rate, and has by gradual modification developed into the common ware of recent times.

These terms are not ethnological. The use of pottery was known through long ages before the arrival of the Romans, and the Romans found many very different races in Britain when they landed. The Roman troops who were sent into Britain were themselves drawn from many different peoples. During the Saxon period, Engles, Jutes, Danes, and various Scandinavian and German tribes arrived among these mixed nationalities which had been welded together by Roman discipline, but we have not yet learned how to distinguish between the pottery in fashion among these various tribes.

The Norman Conquest did not bring in so many new elements as one might at first be inclined to suppose, for a mixture of Scandinavian, German, and Celtic, similar to that which had taken place in the British Isles, had long been going on along the continental shores from which the Normans came.

Nor have these names any strict chronological meaning. Although the British commenced before the Roman, the Roman before the Saxon, and the Saxon before the mediaeval, they overlapped one another, and it is quite probable that we may some day be able to prove that British, Roman, and Saxon types of pottery were being manufactured simultaneously in different parts of the country.

A victory, an invasion, or a reign which marks the commencement of a new condition of society may be capable of precise chronological definition, though its influence was at first felt over a very limited area, and though the old order of things prevailed on the outskirts for many a long year after the change had been established at the centre.

So it is with regard to pottery : the introduction of a

new kind of ware may have been sudden at the centre, but its extension into the outlying parts of the country very slow; after the Romans had come and gone, and while Saxon urns were being buried in the south and east of England, British tribes still preserved their own customs in the far-off north and west. We cannot classify ancient pottery on a strictly chronological basis.

We must therefore be allowed to use these words, British, Roman, Saxon, Mediaeval, which are quite convenient for our present purpose, in a somewhat arbitrary and elastic manner, as indicating a type of ware connected, it is true, originally with certain races and ages, but in the vicissitudes of history extending beyond the bounds of nationalities and chronological limits.

3. *British.*

We must not imagine that the tribes of Britain were savages. There were differences of race, culture, and discipline among them, but the people with whom the Romans first came in contact were already far advanced in constructive arts and enjoyed a high civilization. We know little of their houses and towns because they were built of perishable materials which were easily destroyed by fire and decay. How little remains even of our Roman villas save the stone or brick base, the tessellated pavement, or the plaster of the walls.

A difficulty arises from our having at present no means of recognizing ware introduced before the Roman conquest, which had been improved by contact with the Romans or other continental peoples more advanced in this respect than the inhabitants of Britain, who were in constant communication with the continent long before the Roman invasion, as we learn from Caesar, and as has been shown by Mr. Arthur Evans in the able paper¹ in which he gives an account of his excavations near Aylesford.

It would be a good thing if the learned author of that paper would rename the type of ware he describes in it,

¹ *Op. cit.*

seeing that "Celtic" is not sufficiently well defined to be of use for racial or chronological distinctions, and should be reserved as a linguistic term. If "early Celtic" has to become an equivalent for British, we know that it must include many tribes which no one would call Celtic. He might call it Aylesfordian or some other name that would indicate the type to which he refers.

British urns vary so greatly in form and ornament as to suggest that they were nowhere turned out in large quantities made to order after some conventional pattern, but rather that they depended largely upon the taste of the individual potter. Still there is generally a recognizable type running through them which is more evident to those who have been engaged in the work of excavation and have had opportunities of observing the characters of innumerable fragments of the commoner ware. Unfortunately it is not the common every-day pottery of one family, or tribe, or age, that we see described and figured, or find accessible in our museums, but some sepulchral urn more elaborately ornamented than usual. Some vessel of peculiar form is reproduced over and over again in illustration of British ware. It is a comparison of the fragments of common ware which the people used and broke every day, that is needed to help us to read the history of migrations and invasions, rather than a record of rare and exceptional types or a collection of only perfect and well-preserved specimens. There is often a repetition of similar types in one district which suggests the possibility of our being able with more care to arrive at a rough grouping, based upon form and ornament, which may have some relation to the distribution and mixture of nationalities.

When we remember that we are dealing with such a number of different races, it does seem incredible that we should not have obtained more evidence than we have to help us in the discrimination and classification of objects in common use at any rate from the end of the neolithic age to the Roman invasion.

The rudest kinds of ware which were extemporized in a hurry to meet some special requirements were much the same in every age. They were merely lumps of clay pressed out into a basin shape, like the mud-pies which

children make. Some were merely squeezed into the required shape with the fingers without any lathe, while some look as if they had been made on a sort of plate which was turned with one hand, while with the other the clay was manipulated. At Ordessau, in the Pyrenees, this process is still carried out, and each housewife makes her own household pottery in this way. The vessels are then filled with and packed in dry fern which is set on fire, and the whole covered over with earth and sods so as to form a sort of smother kiln. The result is a ware much resembling the ruder kind of pottery of which we are speaking.

One of the characteristics of the rough-textured ware is the constant occurrence of calcined fragments of siliceous rock in it, which when burnt become more conspicuous. The British ware, being all coarse, generally contains them. We see the same thing, though not so marked, in the Saxon urns, which are also of coarse texture, but in their case it was sometimes found desirable to select a finer clay when it was intended to mould a good deal of detailed ornament on the surface. In the coarse Roman and mediaeval ware the same thing occurs.

The simple explanation seems to be, not that the potters introduced the angular grit, but that they used surface clays which were more or less full of such chips, and that in some cases they had not learned how to get rid of the fragments of stone, and in others did not think it necessary to take the trouble to wash the clay for the manufacture of the rough kind of ware.

Another consideration, and one which should teach us caution in generalizing too rapidly in certain directions, is that we know very little of the domestic pottery of the pre-Roman inhabitants of Britain. Almost all the evidence we have is derived from vessels buried with the dead—to show respect for whom all the elaborately ornamented British urns referred to above were made. We have recently found near Cambridge, in the lower part of a most interesting earthwork known as the War Ditches,¹ fragments of coarse ware with flint flakes and

¹ *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, 1902.

scrapers, while the upper part of the ditch was filled with Roman remains. These fragments of pottery were not associated with any interments, and were scattered about just as would be likely in the case of potsherds thrown away into a ditch. A clearer case occurred a little further north on the property of Mr. C. P. Allix, of Swaffham Prior, where we found a series of shallow ditches with partly perforated quartzite pebble hammers, flint flakes, and scrapers, curiously like in size and form to those from the War Ditches, and coarse pottery, with white flint chips, also exactly like that from the War Ditches. The same type of pottery is found in the Lake Dwellings of Switzerland, and in the Cyttian's Gwyddelod, in North Wales, and has been recorded by Pitt-Rivers from the settlements which he explored in the South of England. But it is very rarely that we find remains of pottery of pre-Roman date except in connection with interments.

The characteristic type of British pottery is a high-shouldered vessel whose greatest diameter is at a short distance below the rim. It has never any considerable curve or bulge in the sides, and is often almost straight-sided in section, in this respect as well as in ornamentation differing from the Saxon urn, which has a tendency to be globular, often with squeezed-out curved protuberances.

Some British urns have a large heavy rim overhanging or adherent; while some have this rim developed in such a manner that the vessel looks like one urn placed on top of another, or like one of those eastern vessels formed out of a gourd constricted in the middle. This sort of thing makes us inclined to speculate as to whether we have not in some cases still preserved in Britain the characters of vessels brought by early immigrants from the Far East.

The ornamentation on British urns consists of geometric patterns, produced by rows of indents, criss-cross or zigzag lines incised on the clay when soft, and sometimes bands apparently made by impressed cord or other twisted fibre.

We do not know of any British potters' fields. The poor, ill-baked ware was not such as could be turned out

on a large scale, warehoused, and hawked about. Its texture suggests that it was made in small quantities everywhere, and probably by the people who wanted it, as among the peasantry of Ordessan (see p. 225).

It is clear that a better class of ware was being slowly brought into Britain before the Romans came, but the Romans swept across the country rapidly, stirring up old customs and institutions, and introducing among the natives the knowledge of a different and generally a better art. It would be very interesting to endeavour to find traces of the modification of native ware by contact with Roman art in Gaul, and to try to recognize the advance of this new art into pre-Roman Britain, but this is a hopeless task in the present state of our archaeological museums, where good specimens only are sought, and the evidence from carefully labelled and classified fragments is neglected.

Let us try to realize what happened when the Romans appeared upon the scene. First we know from history that there was a military advance and overthrow of all concentrated opposition. Then we learn from excavations that there was a perfect system of colonization, and that Roman coins good and debased were common, that houses were built in Roman fashion, brick and stone below, wattle and plaster above, with painted walls and tessellated pavements, not in fortified towns only, but up and down the country, along our rivers and hillsides, and, in fact, on all desirable sites. This means that instruction in all the arts known to the Romans was soon brought into this country, which continued in constant connection with Rome for four-and-a-half centuries.

Roman discipline and skill quickly assimilated the natives with whom they came in contact, and British pottery disappeared. There was not much to go. The Roman vessels were so much better that we may reasonably suppose that they not only at once commanded a wider market among the Romanized British, but that, although it was long before the Romans had subjugated anything approaching the whole of the country, the new ware was freely purchased in remote regions to which the Roman arms had not penetrated.

When the people who had made the common, rough, ill-baked ware once had an opportunity of acquiring the better pottery used by the Romans, or learning how to make it, they would never again take the trouble to mould and fire the inferior vessels with which they had had to be content. We should expect to find the two kinds in use side by side for a time. General Pitt-Rivers wrote to me in 1896, "We have four qualities of British pottery. The British distinctly overlap the Roman." In some places, as for instance in the *tumuli* at Upper Hare Park, near Newmarket, urns of Roman type have been found in secondary interments round the margin of a sepulchral mound of British (probably Bronze) age. Perhaps the explanation of this may be, not that the Romans buried in British *tumuli*, but that the natives, after they had adopted Roman pottery, still buried in the *tumulus* of their forefathers. This was in connection with the solemnities of interment in respect to which people are so conservative. The natives would not have broken all their old ware and bought a new set at once, but the manufacture of new ware of the old native type would be dropped as a better became available. The same people were still there. There was no extirpation or extermination of the native British, and in localities where rough ware was manufactured in late Roman and probably post-Roman times, as at Horningsea, near Cambridge, we do see here and there something of native feeling in the form and ornament given to the new and better pottery. If we are right in our inference that the pre-Roman British had no large manufactures of pottery, but that they made at home what they wanted for domestic purposes, or on special occasions for funerals, there must have been a large number of people acquainted with the ordinary methods of moulding and baking pots, and thus able to work intelligently under Roman foremen in the manufacture of the Roman ware.

There was no interval, no sweeping away of the old population with all their appliances. The making of pottery went on continuously, only the Romanized British took to making the new kind of ware as soon as they had learned how much better it was than their

own. Thus, although the manufacture of pottery was continuous, the transition from one kind to the other was rapid.

The bands of parallel indents, sometimes spoken of as "thumb-nail markings," were the commonest ornament on British pottery, and appear on the older and rougher mediæval ware found in the Cambridge ditches,¹ and on some of the earliest mediæval jugs we find seal-like markings exactly like those on the Saxon cinerary urns. All these traces of native fancy in the ornament point to continuity in the manufacture of earthenware from British through Roman and Saxon to mediæval times.

An examination of the pottery of the Lake Dwellings² of Switzerland suggests that those seal-like stamps themselves came down from primaæval times on the continent.

4. *Roman.*

We have at present no means of recognizing pottery of Roman type introduced before the Roman invasion, nor is there any evidence of the British pottery having been modified by contact with continental peoples more advanced in this respect than the inhabitants of Britain.

The incoming of Roman ware appears to have been rapid if not sudden, and there is no possibility of confounding it with anything that went before it. It has been so often and so fully illustrated that it is unnecessary to repeat the descriptions. Indeed, the variety is so enormous that it would be impossible to do so within the limits of a short paper.

There is no such thing as Romano-British pottery, because the British type disappeared at once before the Roman, and there was no grafting of Roman characters upon the old ware. Whether made by an Italian, a Gaul, or a Briton, a pot of distinctly Roman type is Roman.

The type of ware introduced by the Romans did, however, continue in use after the withdrawal of the Romans over a large part of the British Isles until modified during the gradual advance of the post-Roman invaders of

¹ *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, Jan. 25, 1892, Oct. 23, 1893, pp. 32, 255.

² Keller. *Lake Dwellings*, *passim*.

Scandinavian or German origin. There is therefore Romano-English, because there is a ware based on Roman type modified by the English, and when not much modified mistaken for Roman, except when attention is paid to the associated remains.

Samian is the most distinctive ware of Roman times. It was made first in Samos, then in the Abruzzi, then in Gaul, but, notwithstanding the evidence of the York mould, it is very doubtful whether it was ever made in Britain. It has become the name for a class of ware, no matter where made, as we now use the word china.

The presence of Samian indicates a period when the inhabitants of Britain were in easy and frequent communication with Southern Europe. The scarcity of Samian indicates one of two things—either the people were too poor to buy such costly ware, or they lived at a time when it was no longer a common article of commerce, that is, after the connection with Roman Europe had ceased. There are generally a few fragments somewhere in the deposit—just enough to show that it had once been in the district. In order to form an opinion as to which of these two reasons should be assigned, we should examine the character of the rest of the pottery found in the deposit, and if it is all coarse, common ware, we may infer the poverty of the inhabitants of that settlement, but if the pottery is of a fine ware and high class ornamentation, indicating wealth and refinement, we must refer the absence or scarcity of Samian to its being no longer imported. I am assuming that the deposit is not pre-Roman, in which of course no Samian can occur.

5. *Saron.*

It has always seemed remarkable, if true, that, with the exception of cinerary urns, there should be no remains of pottery belonging to the six or seven centuries which elapsed between the final withdrawal of the Roman legions from Britain and the Norman conquest. It is most improbable, nay, incredible, that people coming into a country where well-made domestic pottery had been common for centuries should not have continued to use it, unless we suppose that their habits

did not require it, or that they brought with them something better of their own. But these suppositions are not borne out by observation and history, for we do not find around the places where the population of those long ages were gathered into communities, fragments of any new ware which could be referred to them, and we know from illuminated MSS. and other documentary evidence that they had drinking and cooking vessels.

We must bear in mind that the withdrawal of official Rome did not imply the withdrawal of all people of Roman extraction, whatever that may mean. Many of the Italians, and of all the various races from which the legions were recruited, had married and settled in Britain. Four-and-a-half centuries of occupation and constant intercourse had thoroughly Romanized a great part of Britain. Whether we consider the various tribes of the western part, to whom collectively the term British might be more properly applied, or those of the eastern part who seem to have been largely made up of pre-Roman invaders from Germany and Scandinavia, all were now Romanized, and later Teutonic invaders from the continent must have found their cousins of Britain far in advance of themselves in all domestic arts and appliances, as well as in the organization of municipal life.

The Engles, Jutes, Danes, and Saxons brought no pottery that could be accepted as better than that which the Romanized British had inherited from the Romans. The newcomers probably did not bring with them much pottery of any kind, but the conservatism which among all peoples and in all ages seems to prevail in regard to the disposal of the dead, made them manufacture vessels in the old style to hold their ashes. Some, however, must have been brought from a distance into East Anglia, as there are larger flakes of mica in the ware than are found in any of the clays of the district.

It would appear at first sight that never again until quite recent times was there that prodigality in the use and abuse of earthen vessels that seems to have prevailed among the Romans. Unless we admit that some of what has been called Roman is really of Saxon date, we know practically nothing of the

domestic pottery distinctive of what we call the Saxon age in Britain, that is, post-Roman and pre-Norman. Domestic pottery there must have been—and, as the vessels with the distinctive ornamentation of what we call Saxon when found in graves do not turn up in large quantities all over the ground where the Saxons lived, we must explain this by supposing that some other ware, not generally recognized as Saxon, must have been in common use. Now let us see what evidence can be obtained that this was so.

We not unfrequently find upon ancient sites a layer of black pottery, some of a better class of ware and some ruder and less well-made, but all of the same type as the commoner pottery found in Roman settlements and associated with Roman pottery, coins, and other objects of undoubted Roman age.

Although the absence of Samian and the uniform character of the ware may have raised suspicion, the layers of black pottery have generally been referred to Roman times, and perhaps thrown away as being unworthy of a place in the museum. But this seems to be the line of enquiry along which there is most hope of finding the true explanation of the supposed scarcity of domestic pottery of Saxon age.

My friend the Bishop of Bristol called my attention to a very interesting proof that the inhabitants of the British Isles used Roman pottery after the Romans had left, and that pottery was sufficiently scarce to make it worth while to dig up and use the buried pottery of their pagan predecessors.

Egbert, who was consecrated bishop in A.D. 732, issued a form of prayer for the purification of vessels so found.¹

“Oratio super vasa in loco antiquo reperta.”

“Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, insecrete officiis nostris, et hæc vascula, arte fabricata gentiliū, sublimitatis tuæ potentia ita emundare digneris, ut omni immunditia depulsa, sint tuis fidelibus tempore pacis atque tranquillitatis utenda.”

At the other end of the age to which we refer under the head “Saxon,” we have further evidence. The

¹ *Pontificale Egberhti*, Surtees Society, Vol. 27, p. 125.

Teutonized Romanized-British modified the Romanized-British ware as times went on, so that among the very earliest mediaeval remains we find the same kind of black and red household ware used for cooking, but now associated with modified forms of the same class of ware, and, a little later on, with the jugs and basins of the hard-burnt ware which is characteristic of mediaeval times.

Mr. R. Earle Way¹ says that, judging by the vast pits, now filled with water, from which clay has for ages been procured for the manufacture of pottery, from the mounds of refuse, from the remains of ancient pottery found in the neighbourhood, from the early fashions still reproduced, among which he recognizes Anglo-Saxon and Norman types, he thinks that it is not too much to assume that potteries have continued at Barnstaple ever since the Roman period.

The explanation which best reconciles the documentary evidence and the *a priori* probabilities with the results of excavation is that most of the common domestic pottery of Saxon and early mediaeval times has when found been called Roman.

6. *Mediaeval.*

Nothing like the Monte Testaccio has been left to us from Saxon or mediaeval times. It is only in modern times around large establishments of a public or private character that such a thing appears again, as, for instance, around a large hotel or a college, where about cent. per cent. per annum of the glass and china gets broken. It is true that we must make some allowance for the fact that in mediaeval times a large proportion of the vessels were made of wood, horn, or leather, that is, of less fragile but otherwise more perishable material, and the wooden platters, the drinking horns, and the black jacks have long ago decayed away, so that in the trenches of our Norman castles, or the moats round our ancient manor houses, hardly a trace of anything of the kind is ever found.

There is documentary evidence that a great deal of earthenware was used for domestic purposes in mediaeval

¹ *Proc. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, XXXV (1879), 104.

times. At the feast on the anniversary of the death of Eleanor, wife of Edward I., the quantity said to have been broken was enormous. The forms are inferred from illuminated MSS. and sculpture. The tall jugs, with a long straight neck, if not Norman, must have come in very soon after the Norman conquest, and round pitchers, basins, and drinking cups, platters and dishes, all of much the same character of pottery, were in common use for some centuries after Norman times. Fragments of these are found in the ditches and laystalls of ancient towns. They were chiefly red or yellow vessels, sometimes ornamented with white or yellow clay slip, and more or less covered with a yellow or green lead glaze.¹ Some have devices or ornaments separately modelled and stuck on; some are made in the form of animals or men, but respecting the common cooking utensils there is, according to the usually received notions, a great dearth of evidence.

The long one-handled jug, glazed or unglazed, though in a more stumpy form known to the Romans, is perhaps the most characteristic piece of ware of mediaeval times. It came in earlier, as we learn from pictorial illustrations, but it does not occur in any quantity until after Norman times. You can pick up examples of it still in use all round the Mediterranean.

For two centuries more or less after the Norman conquest, these and other forms of jug were still manufactured, but the potters were so unskilful that they could not keep the bottom from sagging and becoming round and irregular, so that the jug would not stand. To remedy this they pinched the base before it was hard into a sort of calkin, or added on a piece to make the jug stand straight, and by-and-by this developed into a sort of frilled ornament round the base of the stand or vessel, which commonly appears down to the seventeenth century at any rate.

Round ancient towns, as, for instance, Cambridge, there were generally deep ditches, intended partly for defence and partly for sanitary purposes, but commonly used also as drains, which could be periodically flushed by turning

¹ *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, Jan. 25, 1892, p. 32; Oct. 23, 1893, p. 255.

in the water of some stream which ran at a higher level. Into these ditches, and on laystalls here and there, the rubbish of the mediaeval town was thrown, with all the bones of the animals eaten, the broken pottery from the houses, and the dust and refuse from the streets. Round Cambridge such ditches were constructed by King John, and again partly on the same lines in the time of Henry III.

From these ditches I have procured a great quantity of pottery, which, if found elsewhere and not associated with other mediaeval objects, would be without hesitation put down as Roman. All the common types of Roman cooking vessels are represented, but when we examine a large quantity we notice that there is some ware not quite what we find in a distinctively Roman station, such as Chesterford for instance. There is the protuberant side and strongly turned-back rim and the bulging base which I have noticed above as a common fault in mediaeval ware.

Elsewhere also at the base of and here and there throughout the oldest part of the deposits which we refer to mediaeval times, there is apt to be a good deal of black or red ware, very commonly showing marks of having been used on the fire. This kind of ware is found in layers by itself in many parts of the country. I had the advantage of digging with General Pitt-Rivers in "Caesar's Camp," near Folkestone, where he found some urns which might easily have been mistaken for Roman, except for their rounded base and the associated objects by which he proved them to be Norman.

The material of which these vessels are made is as good as, and in fact not to be distinguished from, that of the corresponding vessels found with Roman remains.

None of them have any kind of foot or stand because, as the condition of the fragments shows, these vessels were placed upon the fire.

They all seem to be modifications of the common Roman vessel with a constricted neck and turned-over rim, giving a crook- or crosier-like section. The Roman type is still common in early mediaeval times, but with it we find a number of other types which are not represented in Roman times. They differ chiefly in the form

of the rims, of which some sections are given (Plate I) in illustration of this point.

No. 1 shows the common form of the base, in which there is nothing remarkable except perhaps the tendency to bulge.

No. 2 is a specimen in which there is only a thickening at the rim. In all these figures the exterior of the vessel is on the spectator's left hand.

Nos. 3 and 4 have the top of the rim flattened parallel to the base of the vessel.

No. 5 has a kind of shoulder, where the direction of the side changes so as to produce a smaller opening than the greatest diameter of the vessel.

Nos. 6 and 7 are rims of shallow basin-shaped vessels, in form something like a *mortarium* with a flat rim.

Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, are various modifications of the above.

Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, are sections showing the most characteristic forms of these mediaeval cooking pots.

They are globular, with a flat or slightly grooved rim turned back at an acute angle (sometimes 45°) to the side of the vessel.

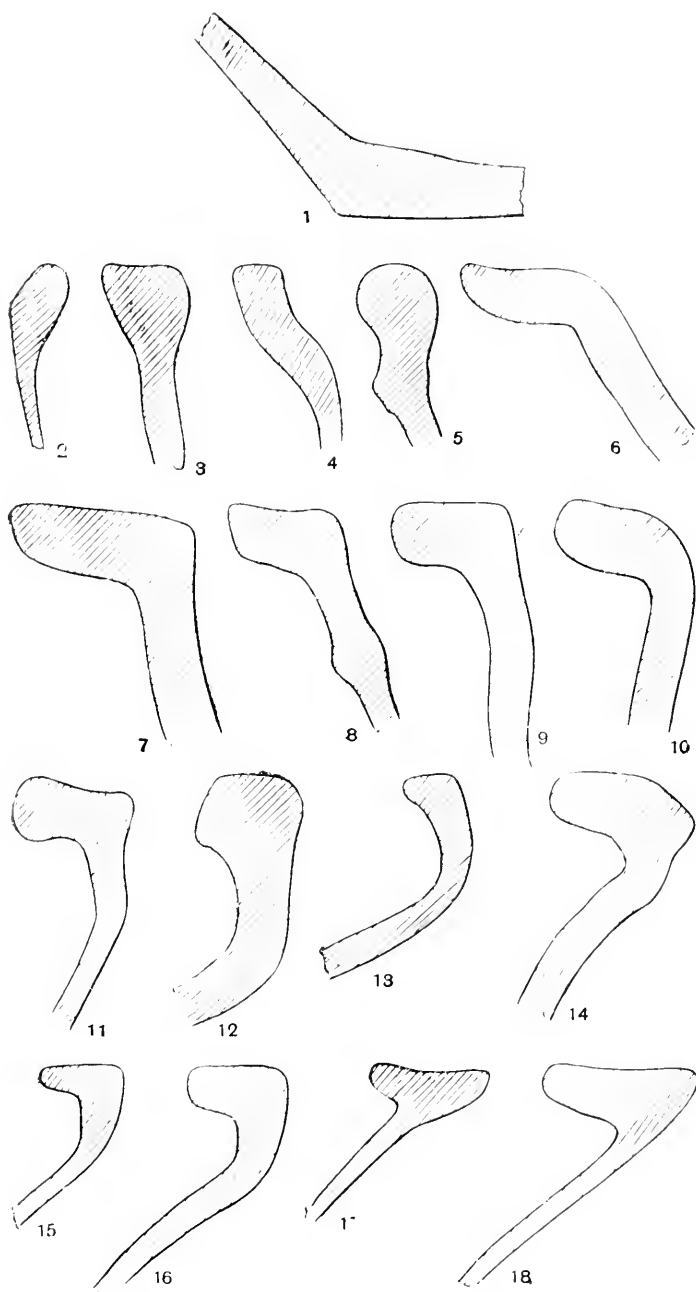
In fact, while we have much which is indistinguishable from Roman, the general *facies* shows a mediaeval modification, enough to suggest that we are dealing with something different from the distinctively Roman ware.

When I have produced a selection of this pottery, and shown it to men conversant with Roman types, the suggestion has been that I was wrong in my assignment of the ware to mediaeval times, and that I had got some Roman pottery by mistake.

But it occurs everywhere in the mediaeval ditches, where it is associated with other mediaeval remains.

Where there were only small quantities of this ware scattered over the surface, and under conditions which offered no independent evidence of its true age, what looked like Roman was put down as of Roman age, and there was still little evidence of mediaeval pottery before the Norman conquest, but now the question must be regarded from an entirely different point of view.

The Romans taught the pre-Roman natives how to



SECTIONS OF RIMS AND BASE OF MEDIAEVAL POTTERY.

make a better kind of ware which entirely superseded their own and lasted on into mediaeval times.

But the Scandinavian and German invaders found a better ware than their own already in existence in the country, and adopted it, adding to it a few vessels of their own fashion and a more universally employed glaze.

Soon after the Norman conquest a great change does take place in the character of the pottery in common use in the British Isles, but the change was gradual, and does not seem to have coincided with the Norman conquest, or with any other marked episode in our history. The hard-burnt crocks and brocks and cruses and numerous other varieties of jug were introduced soon after Norman times, but were not common in this country till long after the Norman conquest.¹

Through the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries we find the ware in domestic use gradually modified and more or less affected by the advent of china from the east, cullen ware from the low countries, and many another article for use or ornament, but this does not come under the head of the early potters' art.

¹ *Archæologia*, Vol. 17, Figs. 42, 43, 44.

THE CHURCH OF THE FRIARS MINORS IN LONDON.¹

By E. B. S. SHEPHERD, M.A.

"In the year of our Lord 1224, in the time of Pope Honorius the third, in the same year that the rule of the blessed Francis was confirmed, in the eighth year moreover of the most illustrious king Henry III., whilst our most blessed father Francis was still living in the flesh . . . the Friars Minors first landed and entered into England at Dover, being in all four clerks and five laymen. Of these, five were left behind at Canterbury and built there the first convent of the Friars Minors in England; the other four having come to London betook themselves to the Friars Preachers, and being kindly received by them remained with them like friends, eating and drinking whatsoever was put before them for fifteen days. Afterwards they acquired for themselves by means of spiritual friends a certain house in Cornhill from John Travers, then Sheriff of London, and built there small cells which they occupied till the following summer; and they remained in the same simplicity without a chapel, because as yet they had not the privilege of building altars and celebrating the divine rites in their own places. But at this time there increased both the devotion of the citizens towards them and the multitude of the brothers; and therefore the city transferred them from that small and strait place to a place in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles and this was appropriated to the commonalty of the City of London.² The friars, however, according to the enactment of the rule had only the use of the land at the will

¹ Read April 2nd, 1902.

² "Et expropter transtulit eos civitas de loco illo parvo et stricto ad locum habuit in parochia sancti Nicholai de Macellis Qui eam appropriavit communitati civitate Londonie. Fratribus autem secundum regule declaracionem usum simplicem per libitum dominorum devotissime designavit Johannes Iwyn civis et mercer Londonie."

This ungrammatical passage is an amplification of Thomas of Eccleston's notice (*Mon. Franc.*, II, p. 18): "Londonie hospitatus est frater dominus Johannes Iwun qui emptam pro fratribus arcem communitati civium appropriavit, fratribus autem usufructum eius pro libitu dominorum devotissime designavit."

of the lords thereof; and this was most devoutly assigned to them by John Iwyn, citizen and mercer of London."

This account, drawn by the writer of the sixteenth century manuscript, to which I shall shortly refer, from the work of Thomas of Eccleston, *De Adventu Minorum*, summarizes well enough all that is known of the settlement of the Friars Minors in London. The land given by John Iwyn formed the nucleus of the considerable convent which in the middle ages occupied much of the ground now covered by Christ's Hospital and Christ Church, Newgate Street. Little indeed of the friars' building remains at the present day; nothing, in fact, but the south walk of the cloister. But up to the beginning of the nineteenth century a good deal was still standing, injured, but not destroyed, by the Great Fire; and as often happens, the buildings which have taken the place of the old ones follow to a certain extent the lines of their predecessors.

In an attempt, therefore, to recover the ancient arrangements of this convent we have to guide us both the present condition of the site and plans and drawings made between the suppression and the rebuilding which took place during the nineteenth century. In addition to these, we have a manuscript account of the house in Latin, now preserved in the Cotton library.¹

This manuscript has been copied and printed several times. In the Harleian library are two manuscript copies. One,² by far the fuller of the two, is headed thus, "*Registrum fratrum minorum londonie*. The first foundation of the friars minors comonly called the grey-friers in London by John Stowe. *Anno domini 1579*." This is certainly a transcript of the Cotton MS. and differs from it only by condensing, translating, transposing, and omitting certain parts. The other³ is in English, and contains only a list of the persons buried in the church, and that much abridged from the list given in the Cotton MS., but adding certain names which do not occur there. The account of the foundation has been translated and printed by Stevens without the register

¹ MS. Cott., Vitellius, F. XII, f. 317.

² MS. Harl., 541, f. 33.

³ MS. Harl., 3063, f. 14.

of burials¹; the whole by Stow with many abridgments and inaccuracies²; the list of burials alone printed in an abridged form by J. G. Nichols in his *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*³; the rest of the MS. in the first volume of *Monumenta Franciscana*.⁴ Since so much attention has been given to this MS., it might be supposed that all the information which it can give has already been extracted from it; but as a rule it has been examined only for the purpose of genealogical study, and so far as I am aware, no attempt has hitherto been made to recover from the notices scattered up and down the manuscript the arrangements or architecture of the monastery to which it refers.

The manuscript falls into two main divisions—first, the list of persons buried in the great church; secondly, the foundation of the house, the names of its benefactors and their gifts, together with some miscellaneous documents relating to it. Of the list of burials I will only say at present that it fixes with some approach to certainty the date of the manuscript, the bulk of which is in the same hand. All the interments are entered in this hand up to the year 1526; after that they are in a different hand, and often written in such a way as to show that they are insertions. The other part of the manuscript, the history of the house, though not written till 1526, is apparently compiled from much earlier documents, some of them contemporary with the events they record. The entries relating to the church are as follows:

i. Under a heading “The first foundation of the Church of the Friars Minors in London.”

“In the first place the chapel which afterwards became a great part of the quire was built for them by Sir William Joiner.⁵

“The nave of the church was built at great cost by Sir Henry le Waleys, Mayor of London.⁶

“The vestry was built out of the common goods or alms; Friar Thomas Feltham lengthened it and furnished it richly with cup-

¹ Stevens' addition to Dugdale's *Mon. Ang.*, I, 122.

² Stow's *Surrey of London*, ed. J. Strype, 1720, III, 129.

³ *Coll. Top. et Gen.*, V, 274, 385.

⁴ *Monumenta Franciscana*, I, 493.

⁵ Mayor 1239.

⁶ Mayor 1274-5, 1282-3, 1283-4, 1284-5, 1298-9; sheriff 1272-3; died 1302.

boards both below and above, and brought thither a supply of water from the cistern of the common lavatory.

"The altars which extend lengthwise toward the south were built out of various common alms; but Sir Henry de Galis gave the timber. May his memory be blessed. Amen."

ii. Under a heading "Founders of the New Church."

"To the perpetual memory of the founders of this church, to relieve the wonder of certain persons who are in amazement at the church and know not whence the cost of it was drawn.

"In the first place be it known that in the year of our Lord 1306 the most illustrious lady, Lady Margaret, Queen of England, and second wife of Edward the first, began to build the quire and the church. To the building of which she gave in her lifetime two thousand marks, and one hundred marks in her will to the same work. She was buried before the high altar in the same quire.

"Be it remembered that William Walden, knight, placed the first stone on Monday in foundation of the new church in the name of the aforesaid Queen in the year of our Lord 1306.

"The nave of the church was built by other friends giving each according to the measure of his devotion; to wit, Lord John of Brittany,¹ Earl of Richmond, the most special father and friend of the Friars Minors gave in aid of the said friars about three hundred pounds sterling. . . .

"Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke,² grand-daughter of Lord John of Brittany aforesaid, also gave in aid of the aforesaid church seventy pounds sterling and many other benefits.

"Lord Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester,³ gave for the aforesaid church twenty great beams from his forest at Tonbridge of the price of twenty pounds, and as much or more in money by the intercession of Friar Geoffrey of Aylsham, his confessor.

"Lady Margaret, Countess of Gloucester,⁴ sister of the said Gilbert, gave for the construction of a certain altar in the said church twenty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence.

"Lady Eleanor le Spencer,⁵ sister of the same Gilbert, gave for the construction of a certain altar fifteen pounds.

"Lady Elizabeth de Burgh,⁶ another sister of the same Gilbert, gave ten good beams of the price of ten pounds and five pounds sterling in aid of the same church.

"Friar and Lord Robert Lisle, Baron de Lisle,⁷ having after the death of his wife taken the religious habit, gave in aid of the afore-

¹ Died 1305.

² Died 1377. Will proved in Court of Husting March 13, 1376. *Yde Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting*, R. R. Sharpe, II, 195.

³ Died 1314.

⁴ Married (1) in 1309, Piers de Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall; (2) in 1317, Hugh Audley, created Earl of Gloucester in 1336-7; died 1342.

⁵ Married (1) in 1306, Hugh le Despencer; (2) William Zouche, Lord Zouche de Mortimer; died 1337.

⁶ Married (1) John de Burgh; (2) in 1315, Theobald de Verdon; (3) in 1317, Roger d'Amorie; died 1360. See Nichols' *Royal and Noble Wills*, p. 33: "As quatre ordres des freres en Loundres, viii li."

⁷ Died 1342-3.

said church three hundred pounds sterling, and wrought many other benefits for the friars in particular and in general.

"Bartholomew of Almain, merchant, gave in aid of the aforesaid church forty pounds sterling and ten pounds for the convent.

"After this came the most illustrious lady, Lady Isabella, Queen, mother of Edward the Third, and finding the church which Queen Margaret her aunt began not yet finished but incomplete, spent about it seven hundred pounds and more.

"Lady Philippa, by the grace of God Queen of England and wife of Edward the Third, gave in aid of the said church forty-eight pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence; and for the covering of the church thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence.

"Robert Lovelyn gave five pounds and John Enfeld¹ twenty marks. And so by these and other devoted persons the aforesaid work was completed in twenty-one years; for it was begun in the year 1327."²

iii. The next set of entries is headed "Concerning the glazing of the windows."³

"After the completion of the work and the covering thereof the following windows were glazed or caused to be glazed by the friends and helpers named below.

"Firstly, beginning from the east in front, that is to say three windows, the first towards the north was glazed by the most illustrious lady, Lady Isabella, Queen, mother of Edward the Third.

"The middle window, the great one over the high altar, was glazed at their common expense by the clothworkers or drapers of the city of London.

"The third window was glazed at the cost of the worshipful Sir John Cokaine, knight."

Then follow fifteen windows on the south side, of which I will only mention those whose descriptions are particularly noticeable :

"The eighth window under the bell tower was glazed by Robert Benet, citizen and mercer of London.

"The ninth window, near the common altar, was glazed by Lady Margaret de Monthermer, sister of Lord Gilbert de Clare, and Countess of Cornwall.

¹ The will of a John Enfeld was proved in the Court of Husting April 23, 1336, and of a John de Enefeld, chandler, on March 25, 1346. *Vide Calendar of Wills proved in the Court of Husting*, R. R. Sharpe, Vol. I, 411, 485.

² It is clear that this statement is at variance with that made shortly before that the first stone was laid in 1306; and since 1306 and 21 make 1327, the suggestion is inevitable that the writer is mistaken, and that he meant to say

not that the work was begun in 1327, but that it was finished in that year. What he actually says, however, is that the building occupied the years 1327 to 1348. He may be merely considering the later portion of the work begun by Queen Isabella; and the mention of a benefaction from Queen Philippa, who only came to England at the end of 1327, is in favour of the later date.

³ For the full list of donors of windows and notes on them see Appendix, p. 259.

"The fifteenth window was glazed by the venerable Earl of Lancaster in the first place; but the same window has now been glazed anew by the worshipful William Lovoney, esquire."

The next to be described are the three at the west end; of these—

"The middle and principal window was entirely repaired anew by the illustrious King Edward the Third after a great wind by which it was blown down, and he had it glazed at his own charges for the soul of the most illustrious lady Queen Isabella his mother, who is buried in the quire."

Then follows the description of fifteen windows on the north side of the church; of these—

"The seventh window was glazed by Lady Mary de Saint Paul, Countess of Pembroke; and under it she had the old altar made (? repaired) and painted at her expense."

This finishes the description of the windows, of which there were fifteen on each side and three at each end:—

"After the completion of the work and glazing of the windows the venerable lady, Lady Margaret Segrave, Countess of Norfolk, gave all the timber and caused new stalls to be made at the cost and expense of three hundred and fifty marks about the year 1380.

"The ceiling of the quire was new made out of the alms of various persons at the cost of two hundred marks in the year of our Lord 1420 by the intercession (*procuratio*) of Friar Thomas Wynchelsey, Doctor of Sacred Law, and he had it painted at the cost of fifty marks."

There is one more set of entries which is of importance:

iv. "Description of the length and breadth of the church and the height of the same."

"Firstly the church contains in length three hundred feet of the feet of St. Paul.

"In breadth it contains 89 feet of the feet of St. Paul.

"In height from the floor to the roof 64 feet of the feet of St. Paul, and as is evident all the columns are of marble and all the pavement is of marble.¹ May all those who helped to build it or who helped or shall help to support it be blessed by the Lord and have for their reward everlasting life. Amen.

"Each window of the sides contains ——— feet of glass.

"The two great windows, namely the east and west windows, contain ——— feet of glass."

The numbers were to have been filled in, but this has never been done.

Such is the information which the Cotton MS. affords

¹ Some of this marble pavement, straight borders, still exists in the consisting of squares set diagonally with eastern part of the present church,

concerning the church. I will now make an attempt to explain it by reference to the other evidence at our disposal.

Of the first church I can say nothing with certainty beyond that which is contained in the MS.; but I venture to suggest some considerations which may help us to fix the size and position of this church. When the friars first came to London they found a city already populous and divided into a large number of small properties, and the first gift of land, that from John Iwyn, would scarcely be larger than would contain one or two ordinary houses and gardens. To build a complete monastery, then, they must wait till they had secured a considerable number of the houses and gardens surrounding their own; and from 1226 to 1352-3 they were acquiring portions of land, so that by the end of that period their site had reached a considerable size. These acquisitions are noted in the Cotton MS., and I had hoped to draw out a history of the site, showing the positions of the various lands acquired; but a search among the deeds enrolled in the Court of Husting for a more precise description of the various portions of land has so far given no results. Nevertheless, conclusions possessing a certain degree of probability may be derived from the somewhat vague descriptions of the various lands given in the Cotton MS. itself.

Setting aside for the present all gifts of "ground rents" due on lands already occupied by the friars, there are twenty-seven gifts of land and houses. Of these, the first twenty, down to and including the year 1294, are described thus: twelve as being in Stinkinglane, or the lane of St. Nicholas, or the lane which was formerly called Stinkinglane, three expressions which I take to refer to the same street, *i.e.* the present King Edward Street; two as in the parish of St. Sepulchre; three are placed with no more precise designation in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles, the church of which stood near the south end of King Edward Street on its eastern side; two in the parish of St. Audoen, one merely described by the name of its late owners. Six of these, four from among those in Stinkinglane and two from those in the parish of St. Sepulchre, are stated to be bounded on the

north by the city wall. The lands belonging to St. Audoen's parish, on the other hand, were no doubt on the south, since St. Ewen's or St. Audoen's Church was on the south side of Newgate Street, opposite the south-west corner of the friars' site; but there are only two gifts of land in this parish, which I am inclined to think were meant merely to give the friars an outlet to Newgate Street, a notion which is confirmed by an entry of 1261 relating a gift to the friars of rents from tenements in St. Audoen's parish, one of which is said to be at the corner of the friars' lane. Now the gatehouse of the friars was just opposite St. Ewen's Church, and from the seventeenth century at least the space before the front of Queen Margaret's church was called "the Greyfriars." There is some ground, then, for identifying "the Greyfriars" with the friars' lane or "*vicus fratrum*" mentioned in the entry of 1261 and placing their acquisitions in the parish of St. Audoen, at the south-west corner of their site.

From the year 1294 to 1303 there are no gifts of land recorded; from 1301 to and including the year 1305 there are four. All of these are in the parish of St. Nicholas, but none in Stinkinglane; and as two of them are given, not to the City of London in trust for the Friars Minors as usual, but to Queen Margaret, we may assume that they were required for the church which she began to build in 1306.

Now Queen Margaret's church was certainly on the south side of the site. The earlier entries of lands, except those in St. Audoen's parish, contain evidence that some at least were toward its northern boundary, therefore it seems probable that most of the earlier acquisitions of the friars were on the north and east, and that except at the south-west corner of their site they were cut off from Newgate Street by a strip of land which Queen Margaret ultimately bought for them. This, again, is confirmed by the entries concerning gifts of rents, for in 1316 we find for the first time the mention of a tenement occupied by the friars near the king's highway by Newgate.

But if the friars did not acquire the land on which Queen Margaret's church stood till 1301, it is clear that the church built for them by William Joiner, who was

mayor in 1238, and Henry le Waleys, who died in 1302, could not have covered the same ground. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that the whole of the new church stood on land freshly bought for the purpose; part of it may have been already in possession of the friars, and if so, that portion would have been the northern.

We have here, then, a state of affairs just similar to that of the Blackfriars' house at Norwich, where Mr. Harrod has shown that the great church corresponding with that of Queen Margaret could not have been built till the middle of the fourteenth century, since a lane ran down the middle of the ground where it now stands, and that lane was not closed till 1345.¹ But at Norwich, in addition to the great church, there stood, till a few years ago, a building which Mr. Harrod sought to identify with the undercroft of the earlier church of the thirteenth century. This building lay north of the quire of the great church on a line somewhat south of the south walk of the cloisters. Now the great church at Norwich was laid out on a line differing somewhat in orientation from that of the claustral buildings, and its quire had no aisles; but had the great church been parallel to the cloister instead of at an angle with it, and had the quire possessed aisles, both of which conditions are fulfilled at Queen Margaret's church, the north aisle of the quire might very well have coincided with the quire of the old church. This may have been the case at Newgate, and may be the explanation of that phrase in the Cotton MS. which states that the chapel built by William Joiner afterwards became a great part of the quire, "*postmodum facta est magna pars chori.*"

In connection with this question it is worth noticing that the donations of glass for windows in the north aisle of the quire seem to be earlier than elsewhere in the church. Of five donors whose dates are known to me, one died in 1305, another in 1314, a third in 1312-13, a fourth may be identified with one of his name who died in 1328, a fifth with one of two namesakes who died in 1323 and 1328-9 respectively. The donor of the eighth

¹ *Gleanings among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, H. Harrod, p. 96.

or central window on the north side was warden of the convent in 1307.

But since this is but vain conjecture, and I have no suggestions to offer concerning the other portions of the first church, "the altars" and the nave, I will pass to the description of Queen Margaret's church itself. The ground which it occupied is familiar to all, and contains on the east the great church of Christchurch, founded in its present status by Henry VIII., and rebuilt after the Great Fire by Wren, consisting of a nave and aisles of six bays, and having a square tower attached to its western face; the alley called Christchurch Passage; and the burial ground of Christchurch, bounded on the south by the backs of the houses in Newgate Street, on the west by a wall and some buildings, on the north by the well-known brick front of Christ's Hospital, built by Sir Robert Clayton, Mayor of London in 1682. From the east end of the present Christchurch to the west wall of the churchyard there are 296 feet, agreeing nearly enough with the 300 feet of the Cotton MS.; the width is 89 feet in the MS., 83 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches between the existing walls. The size and position of the whole, then, is beyond doubt. The church possessed a middle and two side alleys running from one end to the other, as is clear from the statement that there were three windows, a large one flanked by smaller ones, at either end. Now to get what I may call the skeleton of the design we have merely to divide the total length into fifteen parts, according to the statement of the MS. that there were fifteen windows on either side. But if we make the fifteen parts or bays equal we shall find that the first six on the east will coincide with those of the present church; and that they certainly did so was proved when a few years ago excavations on the south side of Christchurch brought to light the bases of some buttresses belonging to the mediæval church, and these were found to come opposite the pillars of Wren's building.¹ The first six bays, then, of Queen Margaret's church are occupied by Christchurch. If we continue to mark out fifteenths of the whole length, we shall find that the seventh bay corresponds with the

¹ *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Transactions*, V, 421.

present tower, and the eighth with Christchurch Passage. It is, in fact, certain that the present divisions of the site preserve for us the divisions of the great church which once included them.

It is now time to introduce the other part of the evidence which the Cotton MS. affords, since it will enable us to fill out in a great degree the bare outline of a design which is given by the list of windows; this consists of a register of the persons buried in the church. These I have laid down conjecturally on the plan (Pl. I), and as will be seen they amount to a vast number, and many parts of the church must have been entirely paved with grave-stones. The list is divided into the following heads, according to the part of the church in which the graves were situated:

- " i. In the quire.
- ii. In the chapel of All Hallows.
- iii. In the chapel of St. Mary.
- iv. In the chapel of the Apostles on the south side of the quire.
- v. In the chapel of St. Francis.
- vi. In the passage between the quire and the altars ('*In ambulatorio inter chorum et altaria*').
- vii. Before the altars ('*Coram altaribus*').
- viii. The following lie in the middle of the nave of the church.
- ix. The following lie in the church outside the doors in the north aisle between the north wall and the columns.
- x. The following lie in the church outside the doors in the south aisle between the south wall and the columns."

Then follow notices of persons buried in the four walks of the cloister and in the chapter-house.¹

On the plan appended to this essay I have laid down

¹ In the copy of the list printed by J. G. Nichols in his *Collectanea*, a somewhat serious mistake occurs. The second heading "In the chapel of All-hallows" is omitted, owing no doubt to the fact that all of it save the tail of the initial I was burnt off in the Cotton fire. The result of this is that the gravestones cannot possibly be laid down aright from his list, since all the burials in the chapel of Allhallows have to be crowded into the quire. His mistake might easily have been avoided, since at the end of the Register is an alphabetical index in which the names are set down under their initial letters, and subdivided according to the part of

the church in which the persons to whom they refer were buried; and all of those which Nichols by omitting this heading erroneously places in the quire are entered in the index under the heading, "The chapel of Allhallows."

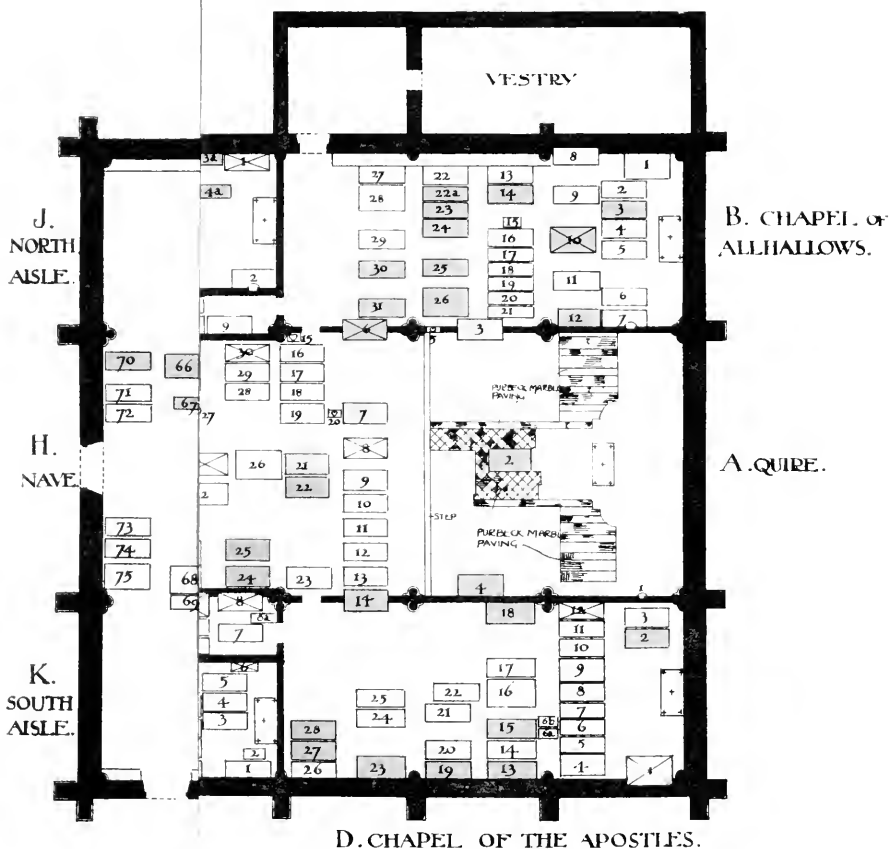
The manuscript copies which have been sometimes printed in preference to the Cottonian MS. also contain some very misleading errors. For instance, for the last two headings, instead of "between the north wall and the columns" and "between the south wall and the columns," the Harleian MS., 3063, gives "In the East wing of the church" and "In the West wing of the church."

· LONDON ·

· CHURCH OF THE GREVFRIARS ·

0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

E. B. S. SHEPHERD DEL.



BEFORE 1300.

1300 - 1350

1350 - 1400

1400 - 1450

1450 - 1500

1500 - 1550



RAISED TOMBS





conjecturally the gravestones mentioned in the Cotton MS.; that it should be full of errors is inevitable, but the positions are described clearly enough to make it certain that this diagram is correct in the main, at least so far as it refers to the eastern part of the church. Generally speaking, the tombs in the aisles are arranged in rows, two rows to each window, and the account of each row begins with some such expression as "Returning to the first part of the third window," or "Returning to the second part of the fourth window," and then graves belonging to it are described in order, from the outer wall inwards. Other tombs are described by reference to the altars, doors, and so on to which they were adjacent. From this evidence we find that the eastern part of the church was divided into five portions. The middle alley formed the quire, the three eastern bays of the north aisle the chapel of All Hallows, the four western bays the chapel of St. Mary; in the south aisle the chapel of the Apostles, containing the tombs of the Blount family, occupied the three eastern bays, the chapel of St. Francis the four western ones. All these chapels were parted from one another by screens, some at least of stone, since the side screens of the quire are called the "walls of the quire."

At the east end in the middle stood the high altar, close to the eastern wall, for the list of windows says that the great eastern window was "*supra magnum altare*," but not right against it, for the heart of Archbishop Peckham, buried in the *sacrarium*, was "*retro magnum altare*." The word "*sacrarium*" Mr. Hope suggests may mean the *piscina*, as it certainly does in another part of the MS., conceiving that the monument containing the archbishop's heart was worked in with the decoration of the *piscina*. Now the *piscina* was probably in the south wall or screen and is not likely to have been right in the corner; it follows, then, from this entry "behind the high altar" that the altar itself must have been somewhat in advance of the eastern wall.

In front of the high altar in the second bay came the tomb of Queen Margaret, the foundress; but as the burials do not form the subject of this paper, I shall pass over without comment the tombs of famous men and women

by whom she was surrounded, saying so far as they elucidate the arrangements of the church.

The position of Lord de Lisle's tomb (A, 6) is important, since it is fixed precisely to the eastern portion of the third bay; for his son, who lay alongside him in the aisle, was buried opposite the first part of the third window. In a line with Lord de Lisle, near the middle of the quire, lay Margaret Segrave, Countess of Norfolk, and at her head Gregory de Rokesley, Mayor of London; here the epistle was read, and I presume a lectern stood to hold the book.

The next row of tombs after that of Rokesley lay "at the end of the stalls" ("*ad finem stallorum*"). The stalls therefore extended somewhere into the fourth bay from the east, and between them was the tomb of Queen Isabella, the second foundress. The three tombs at the west end of the quire are described thus: "Friar John Lambourn, confessor of Queen Isabella, lay on the north under the rope of the lamp; John Claron in the middle at the entrance to the quire; Edward Burnell on the south before the warden's stall." Clearly, then, the stalls were returned against a screen wall which ran across the arch at the entrance to the quire, and the warden occupied the first of the return stalls on the south. A screen wall in just the same position occurs in the fragment of the Friars Minors' church at Lynn.

In the four side chapels altars are mentioned standing at the eastern extremity of each; and in the chapels of All Hallows and St. Mary the *piscina* is mentioned under the names "*lavatorium*" and "*sacrarium*." It will be observed that at the west end of the chapel of All Hallows is a strip quite vacant of gravestones; here, perhaps, was a passage to the vestry. There was a door to the vestry ("*versus vestibulum*") just west of Lord de Lisle's tomb, and on a tracing belonging to Christ's Hospital, taken apparently in modern times from an old plan, a building is shown attached to the north side of the church and covering a little over three bays, so that a door at the north end of this vacant strip would enter it very conveniently. This building I am disposed to identify with the vestry of the friars supplied with water by the intercession of Friar Thomas Feltham and

furnished with cupboards both above and below, and from the last statement I infer that it was divided into two storeys.¹

A question now arises how entrance was gained to the chapels. The two western ones were of course approached from the western part of the church, and the friars could enter the eastern chapels by the two doors near the end of their stalls; but it is unlikely that the unprivileged laity would be allowed to use these doors, since they would have to walk through the friars' quire to reach them. There is a little evidence which supplies us with a reasonable answer to this question. Friar Thomas Wynchelsey (C, 7) lies "*extra oltm capelle*" (outside something—whatever the word may mean—of the chapel). In the chapel of St. Francis the first person, named John de Guynirs (E, 1), lies "near the wall in the small chapel of St. Francis"; at the north end of the altar, separated from the quire wall by two slabs, lay John Robsard "in a raised tomb" (E, 6). In the second row of the same chapel, again, separated from the quire wall by two tombs, lay a merchant of Lucca (E, 13) "outside the door of the small chapel."

In the entry concerning Wynchelsey I suggest "*ostium*" or door for the unmeaning "*oltm*," since the description of of his tomb would naturally tally with that corresponding with it on the south. And the obvious inference to be drawn from these entries taken together seems to be that the altars in the chapels of St. Mary and St. Francis were pushed somewhat to one side, and enclosed with screens as shown on the plan (Pl. I), in such a way as to leave a passage between the screen and the wall of the quire. These screens would naturally have a side door by which the friars could approach the altars, while the passage would provide an entrance to the farther chapel without disturbing those who were using the altar in the nearer one. This suggestion receives confirmation from the position of the western door of entrance to the chapel of

¹ Richard Hastings, Lord de Willoughby and Welles, who was buried in the chapel of Allhallows (B, 19), directs in his will (*Testamenta Vestra*, 443) that he be buried "in the Vestry Chapel." It seems hardly

likely that this chapel, which was full of gravestones, was used as a vestry, and it may have acquired its name of the "Vestry Chapel" from its proximity to the vestry.

St. Mary; that appears to have been not in the middle of the screen but towards its south end, and therefore just opposite the passage I have suggested, indicating the path which was to be taken by those who wished to reach the farther chapel.

Leaving the seven eastern bays occupied as I have already shown, we come to the eighth, called the passage between quire and altars, the altars forming the eastern bay of the nave. This narrow space separating quire and nave is a well-known feature in friars' churches. It exists in the Blackfriars' church at Norwich, and in the Greyfriars' at Lynn. It was bounded east and west by screens, that on the west bearing the rood; at its north end was the entrance from the monastery, and at its south end an entrance from the churchyard and through it from Newgate Street. It corresponds, in fact, to that space in a monks' church which intervenes between the rood-screen and the *pulpitum*.

The English copy of the burial list calls this space "the belfry or walking place"; and the Cotton MS. says that the eighth window is under the bell tower ("sub campanili"). The tower then stood here, and was probably an octagonal or hexagonal steeple, perched, as at Lynn and Richmond, on two arches spanning the central alley of the church at this point. But possibly it was a more substantial affair, and stood squarely on four large piers as in the Austin Friars' church at Ludlow. This alternative derives some support from an entry in the churchwardens' books of Christchurch dated March 5th, 1676: "At a vestry then holden it was ordered that forthwith workmen shall be set at work to clear the foundations of all the pillars in the upper church and the four great pillars in the passage to the hospital."

But whatever the exact form of the mediaeval tower was, it is very clear that the present tower of Christchurch cannot, as has sometimes been supposed, contain any portion of it. There is no doubt that much of Wren's work is built of the old materials, the Reigate stone used in the mediaeval buildings; and a staircase in the north-east corner of the tower looks very much like ancient work, but it is evident that it cannot be so, since it would come well within the space occupied by the former quire.

To pass westward out of the passage into the nave there was apparently only one door in the middle of the central screen; over this door was placed the rood, and the altars set against this screen gave to the whole of the easternmost bay of the nave the name "*altaria*" (the altars), this space being cut off from the rest of the nave by a set of screens going right across. The altars were four in number. Against the central portion of the screen stood the altar of the Holy Cross on the north, and the Jesus altar on the south, one on either side of the rood; in the north aisle was a second altar of St. Mary, on the south the common altar ("*commune altare*"). Whether or not the altars were again divided from one another by screens as is suggested on the plan I am not quite sure; but raised tombs are mentioned as lying between them which certainly served the office of screens, even if actual screens did not exist.

It is noticeable that the same expression "*altaria*" occurs in the account of the first church. The building so called was built out of various common alms, and Henry le Waleys, who died in 1302, gave the timber.

Beyond "the altars" on the west came the remaining six bays of the nave. Of their appearance we can gain a notion from the Austin Friars' church in Old Broad Street, where the nave of the great church built in 1353 still stands.

In the south aisle I have a notice of another altar, the tenth and last, so far as I can tell. I do not know to whom it was dedicated, but it may have been that altar of St. Louis, concerning which Mr. Hope has supplied me with some information; this consists of an account¹ with a certain Master Eye for the construction of a chapel in the friars' church, providing for the lengthening of a window, the purchase of glass and lead for filling it, an image of St. Louis, and so on. St. Louis was Queen Margaret's grandfather, and therefore would naturally receive honour in this church. The only other features which I will notice in the nave were the two doors, one in the last bay on the south side leading into Newgate Street, another at the west end; there may also have been one in the last bay of the north aisle, but I have no record of it.

¹ Accounts, etc., Exch. Q. R., Bundle 507/5. P. R. O.

Before leaving the interior of the church I will say one word about the burials as a whole.

Some of the tombs, since they date from a period earlier than the foundation of the new church by Queen Margaret, must have belonged to the old church; for instance, those of the heart of Archbishop Peckham, of Gregory Rokesley, and others. These I conceive were transplanted from the old church, and placed in tombs specially prepared for them in the new church, as was done at St. Augustine's Abbey Church at Bristol.

All the tombs, which when complete must have formed a magnificent collection, are said to have been sold by Sir Martin Bowes, Mayor of London in 1545; but a fourteenth century incised slab still remains in the graveyard occupying the site of the nave, which, though I cannot trace it in the list of the Cotton MS., almost certainly belongs to the Greyfriars' church. This is a slab of stone, the sides measuring 6 feet $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the top 2 feet 3 inches, and the bottom 1 foot $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, inscribed round the edge with the legend "*Bernart de Jambe gist icy Diu de sa alme eit mercy. Amen. Paternoster.*" It bears a shield containing a leg couped at the thigh within a bordure.

It is possible that other slabs or monuments will be found hereafter belonging to the church; but the descriptions themselves contained in the Cotton MS. are often of great interest, particularly those of the heart burials, which seem to have been somewhat common in the churches of friars.

As to the architecture of the church it is difficult to say much. If the analogy of other friars' churches is to be trusted it was certainly not vaulted, except perhaps in the space under the tower. No clerestory windows are mentioned in the list of donors of glass, from which I conclude that there was no clerestory, as there is none at the Austin Friars in London. A clerestory is shown in the drawing preserved at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and this would suggest that one was added later somewhat as it was at Norwich.

To pass to the outside of the church, we find that on the north it was divided from the cloister by a space marked in the old plan at St. Bartholomew's "the yard

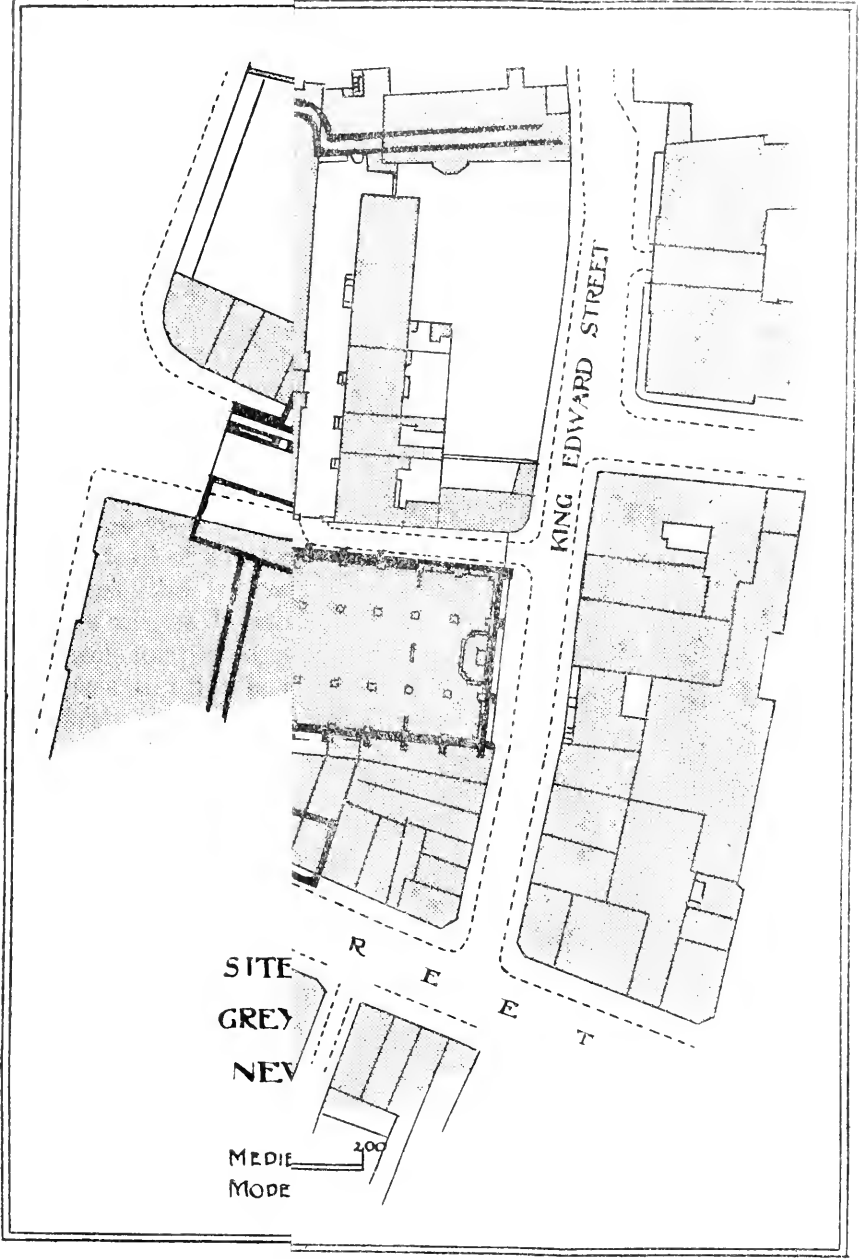
between the church and the cloister." This space between the church and the monastic offices, so unusual in an ordinary monastery, occurs at Norwich, probably at Walsingham, and in the Austin Friars in London; for there the windows in the north aisle of the nave nearest the cloister come down so low that if there had been a cloister adhering to it as in a monastic church these windows would not have cleared the roof. When the south walk of the cloister at the Greyfriars was rebuilt or restored by Sir Robert Clayton after the Great Fire, the nave of the church then being in ruin and not to be rebuilt, this yard was taken in that the width of the new building might be increased; thus the brick front of Sir Robert Clayton's building stands upon the old north wall of the church, and his building comprises both the old cloister and the yard between it and the church. (Pl. II.)

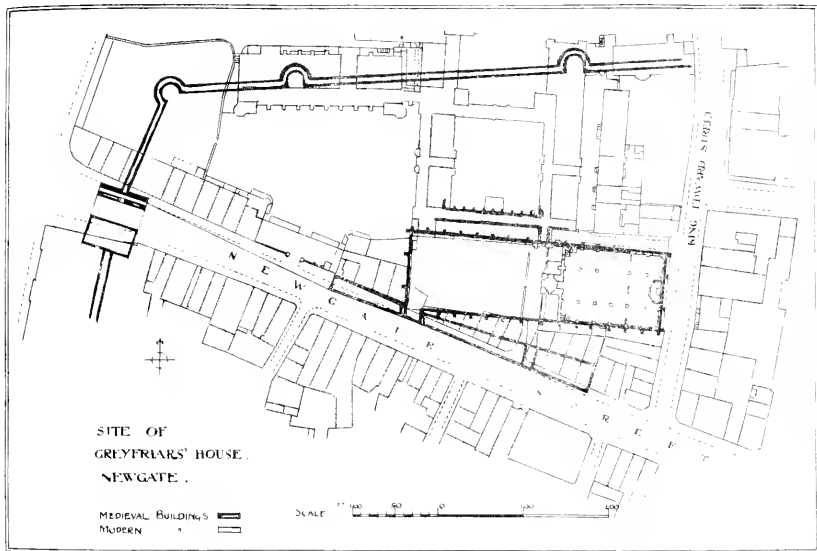
For the history of the portions of ground lying on the south and west of the church with a frontage to Newgate Street we have some interesting information from two deeds appended to the account of the house in the Cotton MS. The English in which these are written is very strange and offers considerable difficulty; but the original of the first exists, recited in letters-patent of 42 Edward III., while the second is found, though much abridged, in a patent of 20 Richard II. The first is in French, and the strangeness of the English in the copy belonging to the Cotton MS. is due to the fact that it is a very literal translation of the original; and the same explanation probably applies to the second.

The first of these deeds is an agreement between James Andrew, Mayor of the City of London, the Aldermen, and Commonalty of the same city of the one part and Friar John Malberthorp, Warden of the Friars Minors in London, and the convent of the same place of the other part, by which the warden and convent by grant and will of the King, their founder, and by assent of the Provincial Minister of their order in England, let to the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty a portion of land on the south side of their church for the sustentation of London Bridge. Houses were to be built on this land, and the profits arising therefrom to be applied to the purpose above mentioned. The dimensions of this piece of land

are reckoned from the buttress hard by the south door of the church; so that I have been able to lay it down upon a plan with some approach to accuracy. The most interesting thing in these deeds is the provision made for the protection of the friars. They reserve a right of way through these buildings, and for this purpose the Mayor and Aldermen agree to make a cartway ("*une porte*") opposite the door ("*le huy*," *ostium*) of the church, through which the friars may bring loaded carts, and victuals and necessities, at any time that it may please them. The door referred to must be that which I have supposed at the south end of the *ambulatorium*, and suggests that even in the middle ages this passage served as it does now for an approach to the buildings beyond the church. The light of the friars' church was also safeguarded. At the east end, where the houses were farthest away from the church, they might be of three storeys and 33 feet in height; at the west end, where they approached the church, they might be only of two storeys and 17 feet in height; and in the middle they might be of two storeys and 25 feet in height. Privacy also was considered; if the Mayor and Aldermen wished to make windows in the back wall of the houses toward the cemetery of the friars they must be at least 6 feet above the floor of each room so that none could look out, and they must be glazed, not made to open, and carefully barred with iron.

The second indenture, belonging to the twentieth year of Richard II., offers a little more difficulty, since the English translation of the deed in the Cotton MS. and the abstract contained in the letters patent approving it do not agree, but by putting the two together and correcting the one from the other, we can extract from them a very intelligible account. By this indenture the friars let off the remaining portion of their frontage to Newgate Street, a strip of land 95 feet long, stretching from the south-west corner of their church to their entrance from Newgate Street opposite St. Ewen's Church. The same provisions are inserted for safeguarding the privacy of the friars and the light of their church, but it is clear that the only window which was likely to be blocked was the west window of the south





aisle. Since at the back of this row of houses there lay an open space, that is to say, the churchyard of the friars about the west end of their church, the upper storeys were allowed to project over it, the first and second floors 2 feet 6 inches each and the top floor 1 foot 6 inches farther.

Now the patent of 42 Edward III. contains a permission that 6 feet be taken from the highway in order to secure a reasonable depth for the houses to be built on the south side of the church, and the new houses referred to in the deed of 20 Richard II. were to be built so as to align with them; therefore between the first and second buttresses of the church in front of the door there was a space bounded on either side by the new houses. This space by the second indenture was granted to the friars, and on it they probably built a porch.

While parting with so much of their land the friars still reserved a passage all round their church. In the back wall of the first set of houses, at its west end, close against the buttress, a door was provided that the friars might be able to get at the south side of their church for purposes of repairs, and in the second set of houses an alley is provided against the west wall of the church, stretching from the street to the west porch. In order to provide access to the first of these doors the city authorities probably stopped their houses short of the buttress. Therefore, when the friars built their new porch in accordance with the permission granted them in the twentieth year of Richard II. a narrow passage remained between it and the houses, and this space probably remained without buildings upon it till 1529,¹ when by a short deed, of which a copy is appended to the Cotton MS., the warden and convent let a portion of ground 6 feet by 2 feet to the Mayor, Commonalty, and Masters of the Bridge House of London to enlarge the house of one of their tenants, Nicholas Pinchin, butcher.

¹ The date is very illegible, and looks as if it should read 1519; but it is fixed by the names of the mayor and sheriffs who came into office in the

autumn of 1528, and of the warden, Thomas Cudner, who was in office in 1526. The editor of *Monumenta Franciscana* reads 1319.

APPENDIX.

ENTRIES IN COTT. MS. RELATING TO THE CHURCH OF THE FRIARS MINORS.

i. *Prima fundacio Ecclesie Fratrum Minorum Londiniis.*

In primis capellam que postmodum facta est magna pars chori construxit eis dominus Willielmus Joyner . . .

Navam ecclesie construxit magnis sumptibus dominus Henricus de Galis maior Londonie . . .

Vestibulum constructum est de bonis communibus elemosinis scilicet frater Thomas Feltham istud clongavit et multipliciter adornavit armariis tam inferius quam superius et aquaductum (*sic*) de pissina (*sic*) communis lavatorii illud adduxit et multa utilia illis procuravit.

Altaria vero que se extendunt in longum versus austrum constructa fuerunt de diversis communibus elemosinis sed dominus Henricus de Galeys dedit meremenum cujus memoria in benediccione sit Amen.

ii. *Fundatores Nove Ecclesie.*

Ad perpetuam memoriam fundatorum et coadjutorum hujus ecclesie et ad tollendum admiracionem quorundam ignorancium qui admi[rantur] opus et unde expense illius administrabantur.

In primis sciendum quod anno domini 136^o illustrissima domina domina Margareta regina et uxor Edwardi primi secunda Incepit edificare chorum et ecclesiam. Ad cujus construccionem contulit in vita sua duo millia marcarum et c. marcas in suo testamento legavit ad idem opus. Que sepulta est coram magno altari in eodem loco.

Memorandum quod Willielmus Walden miles posuit primum lapidem in die Lune in fundacione nove ecclesie in nomine regine predictie anno Domini 1306^o.

Item navem ecclesie edificaverunt alii amici dantes singuli secundum devocionem suam viz. dominus Johannes de Brytania comes Richemondie specialissimus pater et amicus fratrum minorum Dedit in subsidium Ecclesie dictorum fratrum circa ccc libras sterlingorum Calicem aureum preciosum vestimenta varia preciosa tapceia et alia multa bona que numerari non possunt pro victu et necessitatibus fratrum cujus anime propicietur Deus Amen.

Domina Maria comitissa Pembrochie neptis domini Johannes (*sic*) de brytania predicti dedit eciam in subsidium ecclesie predictie septuaginta libras sterlingorum et multa alia bona et magnum honorem fecit fratribus cujus memoria in benediccione sit Amen.

Dominus Gilbertus de Clare comes Gloucestre dedit pro ecclesia predicta viginti trabes magnas de foresta sua de Tonebrige precii viginti libras et tandem (*sic*) vel plus in pecunia per procuracionem fratris Galfridi de Aylesham confessoris sui.

Domina Margareta comitissa Gloucestre soror dicti Gilberti dedit pro quodam altari construendo in ecclesia predicta viginti sex libras tresdecim solidos quatuor denarios.

Domina Alianora le Spencer soror idem (*sic*) Gilberti dedit pro quodam altari construendo 15 libras.

Domina Elizabeth de Burgh alia soror dicti Gilberti dedit decem ligna bona precii decem librarum et quinque libras sterlingorum in subsidium ecclesie predictæ.

Item frater et dominus Robertus Lyle baro de Lyle et postmodum post mortem uxoris sue habitum religionis sumpsit et in subsidium ecclesie predictæ ccc libras sterlingorum. Et multa alia bona fecit fratribus in speciali et in communi. Sicut in instrumento in parte patet inde confecto. Quia multa alia bona habuerunt fratres post mortem suam per multa tempora per manus executorum suorum que in predicto instrumento non continentur. Cujus anime propicietur Deus Amen.

Item Bartholomæus de Alemania mercator dedit in subsidium ecclesie predictæ x libras sterlingorum et x libras pro conventu.

Post hec venit illustrissima domina Isabella Regina mater Edwardi Tercii et inveniens ecclesiam quam regina Margareta amita sua incepit nondum perfectam set incompletam septingentas libras et amplius circa eam expendit.

Item Domina Philippa dei gracia regina Anglie et uxor Edwardi 3^{ij} dedit in subsidium ecclesie predictæ xls *li.* xiii *sol.* iii *d.* Et ad cooperimentum ecclesie xiii *lib.* vi *sol.* viii *d.*

Item Robertus Lovelyn v libras Et Johannes Enfeld xx marcas Et sic per hos et alios devotos completum est opus predictum in annis xxi. inceptum enim erat M^oCCCXXVII^o.

iii. *De vitratione Fenestrarum.*

Post consummacionem operis et coopericionem ejusdem consequentes fenestras vitraverunt vel vitrari fecerunt amici et coadjutores infra scripti.

Inprimis incipiendo ab oriente in fronte scilicet tres fenestras [quarum] prima (*sic*) versus boream vitrari fecit Illustrissima domina Isabella Regina mater Edwardi 3^{ij}.

Mediam fenestram et magnam supra magnum altare vitrari fecerunt in suis expensis communibus pannarii vel draperii civitatis Londonie.

Terciam fenestram vitrari fecerunt (*sic*) venerabilis dominus Johannes Cokaine¹ miles.

Consequenter incipiendo in prima fenestra australi eam vitrabat venerabilis vir Willielmus de Parys² civis Londonie et Matildis uxor ejus.

Secundam fenestram australem vitrari fecit dominus Johannes de Charlton³ miles et domina Hawesia de Pole uxor. Portant leonem rapacem de goules in campo aureo.

¹ Perhaps one of the Cokaines of Ashbourne. Either Sir John Cokaine, who died 1372, or his son John, Chief Baron of the Exchequer 1401, Justice of the Common Pleas 1405, died 1429. *Vide Cokayne Memoranda*, by A. E. Cokayne; Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV, 607.

² A William de Parys and Matilda, his wife, receive a legacy from one Anastasia Bunting by a will proved May 6, 1300. Sharpe, I, 145.

³ John Charleton married (1309) Hawyse, daughter of Owen ap Griffith. Died 1353.

Terciam fenestram vitrari fecit venerabilis vir Ricardus Bryton civis Londonie et Margareta uxor ejusdem.

Quartam fenestram vitrari fecit Walterus de Gorst pelleparius vel piperarius¹ civis Londonie.

Quintam et sextam fenestras vitrari iecerunt Johannes de Triple² et Alianora consors sua scilicet Johannes erat civis Londonie.

Septimam fecerunt vitrari Henricus Burell³ civis Londonie et Alicia uxor ejusdem.

Octavam fenestram sub campanili fecit vitrari Robertus Benet civis et mercer Londonie.

Nonam fenestram coram communi altari fecit vitrari domina Margareta de Monte Hermetis⁴ soror domini Gilberti de Clare comitis Gloucestre et comitissa de Cornwayle.

Decimam fenestram vitrari fecit Willielmus Albou⁵ civis et mercer Londonie.

Undecimam fenestram vitrari fecit Bartholomeus de Esteyn.

Duodecimam fenestram vitrari fecit Dominus Robertus Launde miles et aurifaber Londonie et Christina consors sua.⁶

Terciam decimam fenestram vitrari fecit Walterus (Simon *written above*)⁷ de Mordon civis et piscinaris Londonie et Constancia consors sua.

Quartam decimam fenestram vitrari fecit Willielmus de Taunston civis Londonie.

Quintam decimam fenestram vitrari fecit venerabilis comes de Lancastria primo set jam de novo eandem fenestram vitrari fecit venerabilis vir Willielmus Lovoney armiger.

In occidentali fine ecclesie sunt tres fenestre quarum prima (*sic*) ex parte australi vitrari fecerunt Johannes Lovekin et Johannes Walworth⁸ et Johanna uxor eorundem.

¹ *Pelleparius vel Piperarius*, Skinner or Pepperer. How was it that the writer was not sure to what guild this benefactor belonged? Did he copy his list from some inscription which he found difficult to read?

² Probably to be identified with John de Triple, whose wife's name was Alemanna. Left legacies to five orders of friars in London. One Henry Darey was among his executors, and applied 100 shillings out of his estate to the cistern of the Greyfriars (*vide Mon. Franc.*, I, 509). Will enrolled January 25, 1324-5. Sharpe, I, 311.

³ There is a man of this name, though that of his wife is not given, whose will was enrolled May 1, 1325. *Vide* Sharpe, I, 313.

⁴ *Vide* p. 241, note 4. The name Monte Hermetis or Hermerii or Monthermer comes from her mother's second husband, Ralph Monthermer.

⁵ Dr. Sharpe gives the will of a William Albou, dated December 6, 1348. But this man was a fellmonger, whereas

the William Albou mentioned in the text was a mercer.

⁶ Sheriff 1376; died before 1411, since in a will dated December 1, 1411, one Robert Bright bequeathes property to maintain a chantry for the souls of Sir Robert de Lannde and Christina, his wife. Sharpe, II, 404.

⁷ Whether Walter or Simon is actually meant it is difficult to determine. Walter was sheriff 1335, and appears in wills dated 1328, 1337, 1349. The name of his wife and his trade do not appear. Simon, a fishmonger, was sheriff in 1364; mayor in 1368; will dated April 7, 1383, and the name of his wife then living, Alice.

⁸ John Lovekin, fishmonger, was sheriff 1342; mayor 1348, 1358, 1365, 1366. For his will, dated July 25, and enrolled November 11, 1368, *vide* Sharpe, II, 117. John Walworth, vintner, apparently held no office. For his will, dated August 10, 1396, and enrolled February 5, 1396-7, *vide* Sharpe, II, 324. But as the John Lovekin who is known

Mediam fenestram et principalem de novo ex toto reparavit illustris rex Edwardus Tercius post magnum ventum cujus impetu cecidit et vitrari fecit in expensis suis pro anima illustrissime domine regine Isabelle matris sue in choro sepulte.

Terciam fenestram vitrari Walterus Mordon quondam stoke-fyschmonger et Maior Londonie et Christina consors sua.¹

Consequenter incipiendo ex parte boreali primam fenestram fecit vitrari frater Johannes Potter quondam civis Londonie et postmodum frater in ordine per annos professus.

Secundam fenestram vitrari fecit Simon Frauncees² ex quo prodiit dominus Adam Fraunceys miles.

Terciam fenestram vitrari fecit Thomas Candysch³ aurifaber et civis Londonie.

Quartam fenestram vitrari fecerunt diversi ex parvis elimosinis collectis et sic nullus habet nomen.

Quintam fenestram vitrari fecit Simon de Parys⁴ aldermanus Londonie et Rosa uxor sua.

Sextam fenestram vitrari fecit Stephannus Candysch.⁵

Septimam fenestram vitrari fecit domina Maria de sancto Paulo comitissa Penbrochie et antiquo altari sub ea fecit fieri et depingi in ex[pensis suis].

Octavam fenestram vitrari fecit frater Henricus de Sutton gardianus.⁶

Nonam fenestram vitrari fecit dominus Gilbertus de Clare dominus de Clare.

Decimam fenestram vitrari fecit communitas mercatorum de Vintnerys.

Undecimam fenestram vitrari fecit Ricardus de Glouceter⁷ civis Londonie et Margareta consors sua.

to us by his will left a wife surviving him whose name was Margaret and not Joanna, it is doubtful whether these persons are to be identified with their namesakes who glazed the window.

¹ See p. 260, note 7, I cannot find that a Walter Mordon was ever mayor. The description altogether applies better to Simon; though the only wife of Simon whose name we know was called Alice.

² Simon Fraunceys, mercer, sheriff 1328; mayor 1342, 1355; will dated May 19, enrolled July 20, 1358; but no mention of a son named Adam. Sharpe, II, 5. Adam Frauncees; will dated August 26, 1374, enrolled May 19, 1375. Sharpe, II, 171.

³ I am unable to find a Thomas Candysch or Cavendish, goldsmith. The name of the father of Stephen Candysch (*vide inf.*) was Thomas, but there is no proof that he was identical with the donor of this window.

⁴ A man of this name was alderman 1302, 1307, 1312. See Riley's *Memorials of London*, pp. 55, 61, 102. According

to Stow (ed. 1720, Book V, 107) there was a sheriff of the name in 1302. And in Dr. Sharpe's *Calendar of Wills*, I, 309, is the will of one Simon de Parys, mercer, dated April 20, and enrolled October 18, 1324.

⁵ Stephen Candysch, sheriff 1357 (Stow, ed. 1720, V, 112); mayor 1362 (Riley's *Memorials*, p. 311); alderman 1370 (Riley, p. 345). His will (Sharpe, II, 149), dated July 13, and enrolled October 18, 1372, contains a bequest of 40s. per annum to his son Roger, a Friar Minor.

⁶ Warden in 1302 (*vide* present MS. in *Mon. Franc.*, I, 513, 514), and in 1307 (*vide* A. G. Little's *Greyfriars at Oxford*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., p. 219).

⁷ Richard de Glouceter. A man of this name was alderman 1299, 1304, 1311, 1312 (Riley's *Memorials*, 41, 55, 85, 95, 147); sheriff 1295 (Stow, V, 107). Owner of land, &c., in Bloomsbury in 1295, merchant of London 1298 [Pat. Rolls]; owner of land in London, 1308. [Pat. Rolls.] The wills of two persons of the name

Duodecimam fenestram vitrari fecit Walterus de Beyer et Johanna consors sua inferius sepulta.

Terciam decimam fenestram vitrari fecerunt Robertus Hawteyne et Thomas Romaine cives Londonie et Juliana consors eorundem.¹

Quartam decimam fenestram vitrari fecit Thomas Evenefeld² civis Londonie et Johanna et Agnes consortes ejusdem Thome.

Quintam decimam fenestram et ultimam versus orientem fecit vitrari dominus Johannes de Britania comes Richemondie.

Post complecionem operis et vitracionem fenestrarum venerabilis domina domina Margareta Segrave comitissa Northfolchie dedit totum merementum et fieri fecit novas (*sic*) stallos ad costas et expensas CCC^{rum} et quinquaginta marcarum circa annum Domini MCCCCLXXX.

Celatura chori nova facta est de elemosinis diversorum ad expensas CCC^{rum} marcarum anno domini MCCCCLXXX ad procuracionem fratris Thome Wynchelsey sacre theologie doctoris. Et fecit ea (*sic*) depingi ad costagia quinquaginta marcarum.

v. *Descriptio longitudinis et latitudinis ecclesie et altitudinis supradicte.*

Inprimis continet ecclesie (*sic*) in longitudine CCC pedum (*sic*) de pedibus sancti Pauli.

Item in latitudine continet liii.xx.ix pedum de pedibus sancti Pauli.

Item in altitudine a terra usque ad tectum lxiij pedum de pedibus sancti Pauli.

Et ut patet omnes columpne sunt de marmore et totum pavimentum de marmore. Qui ad illam edificandam juvaverunt vel ad sustentandam juvaverunt vel juvabunt sint a Domino benedicti et vitam habeant pro mercede eternam. Amen.

Item quelibet fenestra lateralis continet de vitro pedes. . . .

Item due magne scilicet orientalis et occidentalis quilibet (*sic*) earum continet de vitro pedes. . . .

v. *Indenture made between the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of London and the Warden and Convent of the Friars Minors of the same city. Recited in letters patent 42 Edward III., pt. 1, memb. 21.*

Ceste endenture faite parentre James Andrewe meir de la citee de Loundres Aldermans et commune de mesme la citee dune part et frere John Malberthorp Gardein des freres menours en Loundres et le couent de mesme le lien dautre part tesmoigne que les ditz frere John et couent par grante et volunte nostre seigneur le Roi leur ffoundour et par assent du ministre prouvincial de leur ordre en Engle-

are known, either of which might be identified with the donor of the window. (a) Sharpe, I, 302. Enrolled June 11, 1323. (b) Sharpe, I, 342, dated November 24, 1328. Enrolled January 13, 1328-9.

¹ Robert Hawteyne. For his will *vide* Sharpe, I, 52. Enrolled May 12, 1281. He left a widow Juliana, who married:

Thomas Romaine, sheriff 1290-1;

alderman 1298, 1299, 1303, 1304, 1311, 1312 (Riley's *Memorials*); mayor 1309-10 (Riley, p. 76); will (Sharpe, I, 238) dated December 21, 1312, enrolled May 19, 1313.

² Thomas Evenefeld. *Tide* Dr. Sharpe's *Calendar*, I, 340, where there is the will of a pepperer of this name; his wife, Johanna, survived him. Dated October 13, 1328; enrolled December 6, 1328.

terre ont lessez as ditz meir Aldermans et commune a eux et leur successours as tous iours une percione de terre del south partie de leur esglise deinz Neugate en Loundres al oeps reparaillement et sustenance du pont de Loundres pur edifier la dite place la quele place contient en longure de la dite maison que Wanter atte Hyde tient appartenant a dite pont vers lest tanque a une boterras esteant al south huys de la dite esglise vers le West que longure contient deux centz et duszes pies et par la dite maison en layeure contient trente quatre pies et deux pousees Reserues as ditz freres et leur successours franche entre et issne a leur plaisir pour charettes chargez et leur autres vitailles et necessaires entrauns et issauns a quele oure que plerra as ditz freres et par une porte bone et couenable faite as constages des ditz mair Aldermans et commune encontre le huys de leur esglise sur tiele condicion que les ditz meir Aldermans et commune fezront une mure de pierre parentre le cimiterie des ditz freres et la dite place de terre del Northwest coynere de la dite maison vers lest linealment tanque al dit boterras vers le West leuant la dite mure de la terre en hautesse couenablement pur portier les gistes des soliers a edifieres paramount les shopes Paiauns pur les ditz freres et leur successours al Abbe et couent de Westmenster quatre souldz par an des queux les ditz freres sonnt chargez : ffesauns auxint pur les ditz freres et leur successours pur toutz iours le paiement (*sic*) en la haute ruwe devant leur place de la dite maison vers lest si auant come tote la place des ditz freres sestent vers le West Et la dite place de terre sera edifie en trois maneres oulement en longure Cestassavoir al est bout leuant les postes devers la haute ruwe en hautesse paramount la terre trente et trois pies et al West bout shopes oue deux estages leuans les postes devers la haute ruwe dis et sept pies en hautesse paramount la terre et en myllion de la dite place shopes oue deux estages leuans les postes devers la haute ruwe vynt et cynque pies en hautesse paramount la terre et nient plus haut pour sauacion del lumere de la dite esglise Et en cas qil plese as ditz mair Aldermans et commune ou a leur successours de faire fenestres en les dictz maisons issint a editieres vers la cimiterie des ditz freres qadonques les ditz fenestres soient faitz sys pies paramount les gistes des chescuns des estages des ditz maisons et que les ditz fenestres soient bien et espesement barrez de fer et closes ouesque fenestres de verrure nient remuables attachez fermement a les barres susditz et en cas qil plect as ditz freres mener lewe de plue descendant de leur esglise par desouz lauandditz maisons envers la haute ruwe il auront franche issue par chanele a leur plaisir Et auxint pour reconseiler leur esglise en cas ou il busoigne sera faite une huys a la fyne du mure vers le West pres du boterras susdit les queux issues et diliuerance dewe et huys susdit seront faitz as constages des auandditz mair Aldermans et commune al comencement Et apres les auandditz port et deliuerance dewe et huys sera mayntener as constages des ditz freres pur toutz iours En tesmoignance de quele chose a yceux faitz endentez sibien les ditz meir Aldermans et commune come les ditz freres entrechaungeablement ont mys leurs sealx Done a Loundres le primer iour de Marcz lan du regne le Roi Edward tierce puis le conquest dengleterre quarante seconde.

vi. *Part of an indenture relating to the same plot of ground, made between the Mayor, etc., of London, and John de Coggeshall and Henry Yerele, Guardians of London Bridge. Recited in the same letters patent.*

. . . Et purceque la dite place ne poet convenablement estre edifie sanz auoir certain quantites de terre de la haute ruwe Sachez nous auantditz meir Aldermans et commune par grante et volunte nostre seigneur le Roi auoir grante as ditz John et Henry Gardeyns du dit pount a touz iours sis pies de terre pardelors le mure al south huyes de lesglise des ditz freres de la haute ruwe vers le south estendaunt linealment tanque al post esteant par la ruwe al West bout de la dite maison que le dit Wauter tient pour repparaillage et sustenance du dit pount fesaunz par ce le paument en la haute ruwe deuant leur place de la dite maison vers lest siauant come tote la place des ditz freres sestent vers le West fesaunz en tote la dite place leur profit par loneraigne du dit pount siauant come leur charge de paument sestendra issint qil ne soit nusaunt au roi ne al citee ne as ditz freres et paiauns al Abbe et couent de Westmenster quatre soldz par an de queux les ditz freres furent charges fesaunz auxint et perfourantz touz les conuauz et charges comprises deinz les ditz faites entre nous meir Aldermans et commune et les freres susditz En tesmoignance de quele chose sibien nous auant ditz meir Aldermans et commune come les ditz John et Henry entrechaungeablement auons mys nos seaix Done a Loundres le disme iour de Marex lan du regne le Roi Edward tierce puis le conquest dengleterre quarantseconde.

vii. *Letters patent approving the transference to the Mayor, etc., of that portion of the Friars' frontage which lay between the west end of their church and their Gatehouse.*¹ *Patent Roll, 20 Ric. II., part ii, membr. 4.*

Rex omnibus ad quos etc. salutem. Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali et pro tresdecim solidis et quatuor denariis quos dilecti nobis

¹ At the present time the houses on the north side of Newgate Street still belong to the Bridge House for a distance of 95 feet from the point where the south-west angle of the friars' church formerly stood. So there is no doubt concerning the length of the piece of land made over to the City by the friars in 1397. But the width of the ground is not described so clearly; the letters patent give it as 8 feet 4 inches at the south-west buttress of the church, and 7 feet 9 inches at the west buttress of the church. The church may have had two buttresses at its south-west angle, one pointing south and the other west; but it would be very unreasonable to describe these buttresses as the west and south-west respectively, and it would be still more unreasonable to give two measurements

for the width of the ground at one end and none at all at the other. Turning to the English translation in the Cotton MS., we find that the second buttress does not belong to the church at all, but is described as the west buttress beside the said gate, *i.e.* the friars' gatehouse, which formed the western boundary of the site; this gives us a reasonable description of the ground as 95 feet long, 8 feet 4 inches wide on the east, and 7 feet 9 inches on the west. But it is clear that such a strip of ground was too narrow to contain even a mediæval row of houses, especially as the English translation tells us that the top floor projected 6 feet 6 inches; for a house of about 8 feet in width carrying a projection of 6 feet 6 inches would certainly have been top-heavy.

The difficulty may, I think, be

maior Aldermanni et Communitas civitatis nostre Londonie nobis solnerunt concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est dilectis nobis in Christo Gardiano et conventui fratrum ordinis minorum Londonie quod ipsi quandam porcionem terre cum pertinenciis ex parte anstrali ecclesie sue quatuor viginti et quindecim pedes ac duos pollices in longitudine et octo pedes ac quatuor pollices ad Southwest boteras ecclesie predicte et ad West boteras eiusdem ecclesie septem pedes et novem pollices in latitudine continentem quadam alura latitudinis duorum pedum cum quodam ostio ad sumptus ipsorum maioris aldermannorum et communitatis civitatis predicte faciendo eisdem Gardiano et conventui et successoribus suis semper reservata et Henrico Yevele et Willielmo Waddesworth quod ipsi unum mesuagium . . . quod quidem mesuagium . . . situm est in parochia sancti Michaelis ad Bladum . . . dare possint concedere et assignare prefatis maiori Aldermannis et communitati civitatis predicte habendum et tenendum eisdem maiori et aldermannis et communitati heredibus seu successoribus suis ad quasdam domos tam super dicta porcione quam mesuagio predicto pro sustentacione et reparacione pontis eiusdem civitatis de novo construendas imperpetuum. Et eisdem maiori Aldermanis et communitati quod ipsi quandam porcionem terre de alta via ad australe Abbutamentum dicte porcionis terre prefatis maiori

explained thus. For the tenements mentioned in the former deed a piece of ground 6 feet wide had been taken from the highway; therefore at a point just beyond the south door of the church there was a break of 6 feet in the frontage. But it is specially stated that the new tenements of 1397 are to align with those already built; therefore, though it is not expressly stated, they too must have encroached to some extent, say 6 feet as before, on the highway; but this encroachment would not of necessity be mentioned in letters patent approving an arrangement between the friars and the City. Granted that this assumption is correct, the narrowness of the strip of land ceases to be a difficulty; for a portion of the friars' land, about 8 feet wide, together with a portion of the highway, 6 feet wide, would be quite sufficient for a row of houses. These encroachments would leave the door of the friars' church and their gatehouse standing somewhat back from the road; but the City grants the portions of land before them to the friars that they may build on them a gatehouse, or rather an extension of their existing gatehouse (*Porta*) and a porch (*Porticus*).

This view is borne out by the language of the second agreement. The English copy has: "the foresaid Maier Aldermen and connalte grauntyth to the foresayd freers and to ther successors

for evermore A porceyon of grownde fro the hye waye to the west bownde of the place aforesayd upon the wych the sayd freers may edify ther gate evnyly accordyng toward the hye way to the byldyngs the wych shalbe ther edified by the sayd Maire Aldermen and connalte." (*Mon. Fran.*, I, 525.) But in the Latin copy (*v. supr.*) the piece of land on which the gatehouse is to be built is described as "*quandam porcionem terre de alta via ad Australe Abbutamentum dicte porcionis terre.*" It is evident that the English translator has given the wrong sense to "*de*," which does not mean "from" in the sense of "starting from," or "measuring from," but "from" in the sense of "taken off." It will be noticed that the two copies also disagree in the points of the compass: the English copy has "the West boundary," and the Latin "the South boundary." But if the right sense is given to the word "*de*," either "West" or "South" might very well be correct: if "West" is right, "*ad*" must be taken to mean "at"; if "South," "*ad*" will mean "to."

There still remains one difficulty: that all the old maps from the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth place the gatehouse about 115 feet distant from the angle of the church instead of 95 feet as is stated by the deeds, and confirmed by the present extent of the Bridge House property.

Aldermannis et communitati sic dande et concedende necnon quandam aliam porcionem terre iuxta altam viam ex Southwest parte ecclesie predictae dare possint et assignare prefatis Gardiano et conventui habendum et tenendum sibi et successoribus suis ad quosdam portam et porticum versus altam viam predictam edificiis per ipsos maiorem Aldermannos et Communitatem sic de novo construendis ac quibsdam redditibus ibidem constructis equaliter convenientes imperpetuum. Et eisdem Maiori Aldermannis et communitati quod ipsi tam dictam porcionem terre cum pertinenciis ex parte australi ecclesie ipsorum Gardiani et conventus a prefatis Gardiano et Conventui (*sic*) et mesnagium predictum cum pertinenciis a prefatis Henrico et Willielmo recipere possint et tenere eisdem Maiori Aldermannis et Communitati heredibus sen successoribus suis predictis ad quasdam domos tam super eadem porcione quam supra mesnagio predicto pro sustentacione et reparacione pontis ejusdem civitatis de novo construendas imperpetuum sicut predictum est tenore presencium similiter licenciam dedimus specialem. Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante Nolentes quod predicti maior Aldermanni etc. . . . racione statuti predicti . . . inde occasioneur molestentur in aliquo sen graventur. Salvo tamen nobis et heredibus nostris serviciis inde debitis et consuetis. In ejus etc. testimonium Rex apud Westmonasterium viii die maii.

LIST OF PERSONS BURIED IN THE CHURCH OF THE FRIARS MINORS IN LONDON.

(Dates and other information in brackets derived from
other sources than the MS.)

A.—IN THE QUIRE.

1	<i>Peckham, John</i>	....	Archbishop of Canterbury, Provincial Minister of F.M.	Heart	Died. (1232)
2	<i>Margaret</i>	....	Queen, 2nd wife of Ed. I.	..	1317-8
3	<i>Brittany</i>	....	Beatrice, Duchess of, dau. of Hen. III.	....	(1275)
4	<i>Buckingham</i>	....	Eleanor, Duchess of	..	(1530-1)
5	<i>Eleanor</i>	....	Queen, wife of Hen. III.	Heart	(1291)
6	<i>Lisle, Robert de</i>	....	Baron de Lisle. Friar	....	(1342-3)
7	<i>Redvers, Margaret de</i>	....	Countess of Devon and Lady de Lisle (c. G. E. Cokayne's <i>Peerage</i> , III, 101.	....	(1292)
8	<i>Hastings, John</i>	....	Earl of Pembroke	....	1389
9	<i>Norfolk</i>	....	Margaret, Countess of (dau. of Thos. of Brotherton.)	....	1389 (1399-1400)
10	<i>Goddard, William</i>	....	Provincial minister (?) (c. Little, <i>Greyfriars of Oxford</i> , p. 262).	....	? 1437

A.—IN THE QUIRE—*continued.*

11	<i>Wgdford, William</i>	Provincial minister (?) (v.	Died. (After 1399)
12	<i>Wycett, Robert de</i>	Little, p. 247). Provincial minister (v.	(c. 1370-80)
13	<i>Conway, Roger ...</i>	Little, p. 241). Provincial minister (v.	(After 1369)
14	<i>Bologna, Peter of</i>	Little, p. 239). Bp. of Corbau, and Suffragan of Bp. of London (v. Stubbs, <i>Registrum Sacrum Angli- canum</i> , p. 195).	1331-2
15	<i>Ferers, Joan de</i>	Wife of Guy de Salines	Heart
16	<i>Fiennes, Joan de</i>	(? Sister of William, Lord Say, died 1375.)	(? 1360)
17	<i>Fiennes, Isabella de</i>	Sister of preceding.	
18	<i>Pisanis, Eufrosina de</i>		
19	<i>Barbazan, Beatrice</i>	(V. Nichols's <i>Leicestershire</i> , II, 171.)	
20	<i>Montford, Peter</i>	(? Lord Montfort of Beau- desert, Warwickshire.)	Heart (? 1367)
21	<i>Rokesley, Gregory de</i>	Mayor of London	(1291)
22	<i>Percival, John</i>	Provincial minister, Doctor (Little, p. 268).	1505
23	<i>Chester, Bernard</i>	" <i>Collector papae</i> ." (? B. Sistre, Archdeacon of Canterbury.)	(1343)
24	<i>Dinham, John</i>	Baron Dinham, Treasurer of the Household, K.G.	1501 (1508-9)
25	<i>Fitzwarren, Eliz.</i>	Sister of preceding (wife of Fulke Bouchier, Lord Fitzwarine).	1516
26	<i>Fitzwarren, William</i>	Baron.	
	" Isabella	Wife of preceding. Queen of the Isle of Man.	
27	<i>Aerne, Isabella de</i>	Heart	
28	<i>Chalons, Robert</i>	Knight. (See Westcote's <i>Deronsire</i> , ed. 1845, p. 614.)	1439
29	<i>Juyll, Roger</i>	Warden of Jerusalem and of London.	
30	<i>Chalons, John.</i>		
31	<i>Isabella</i>	Queen, wife of Ed. II.	1358
	<i>Edward II.</i>	" <i>Sub pectore imaginis</i> (<i>Isabellae</i>)." Heart	(1327)
32	<i>Bedford</i>	Isabella, Countess of, daughter of Ed. III.	(c. 1379)
33	<i>Joan de la Tour</i>	Queen of Scotland, wife of David Bruce. Daughter of Ed. II.	(1362)
34	<i>Bourbon</i>	John, Duke of, etc.	1433
35	<i>Nevill, Eliz.</i>	Wife to John, son of Ralph, Earl of West- moreland.	1423
36	<i>Lamborn, John</i>	Confessor to Q. Isabella (v. Little, p. 237).	(Living in 1343)
37	<i>Claron, John</i>	Knight of France.	
38	<i>Burnell, Edward</i>	(? Lord Burnell, son of Philip B., Lord Bur- nell.)	(1315)

B.—IN THE CHAPEL OF ALHALLOWS.

				Died.
1	{	<i>Fiennes</i> , James....	Lord de Say (and Sele), (beheaded by Jack Cade).	1450
		<i>Fiennes</i> , Elomina	Wife of above	1452
2		<i>Smyth</i> , John	Bp. of Llandaff	1478
3		<i>Langley</i> , Katharine	....	1511
4		<i>Halsam</i> , Petronilla	Wife of Sir Hugh Halsam, Knight.	1440
5		<i>Hussey</i> , Constance	Sister of above, and wife of Sir Henry Hussey, Knight.	1461
6		<i>Morley</i> , Eleanor de	(Baroness Morley, wife of Will Lovel, Lord Morley, and daughter of Robert, Lord Morley).	1476
7		<i>Hylton</i> , John	(Sir Robert Hylton, usually called Baron H., friar in this house. Persons of this name died 1322 and 1377).	(? 1377)
8		<i>Bourbon</i> , Percival	Bastard.	
9		<i>Clinton</i> , John	Baron Clinton	(1398)
10	{	<i>Hastings</i> , Richard	Lord de Willoughby and Wells. (<i>Test. Felust.</i> , 443.)	(1503)
		<i>Hastings</i> , Joan....	Wife of above	(1505)
11		<i>Newmarch</i> , Joan	Maid of honour to Isabella, Countess of Warwick.	
12		<i>Cutler</i> , John	Warden of this house	1530
13		<i>Camoyse</i> , Isabella	Wife of Thos. Camoyse (K.G., d. 1421).	1444
14		<i>Webbe</i> , Anna	....	1530
15		<i>Crane</i> , Thomas	Priest	1458
16		<i>Romsey</i> , Margery	Maid of honour to Q. Isabella.	
17		<i>Romsey</i> , John	Son of above.	
18		<i>Fisher</i> , Richard	<i>Cancellarius</i> to Richard, Earl of Warwick.	
19		<i>Burdet</i> , Thomas	Esquire to George, Duke of Clarence. (<i>Dugdale's Warwickshire</i> , ed. 1720, p. 848.)	1477
20		<i>Vyaunde</i> , John	Citizen and grocer..	1410
21		<i>Cheyne</i> , Thomas	Friar, Doctor of Theology (<i>v. Little</i> , p. 256).	(Alive in 1421)
	{	<i>Allen</i> , John	Master of the Chapel to John, Duke of Bed- ford.	(? 1463)
22	{	„ John	Son of above. Friar, S.T.P. Warden of this house (see <i>Little</i> , p. 265).	(Alive in 1459?)
		<i>Bekynden</i> , Richard	Friar.	
22A		<i>Sand</i> , Gilbert	Friar, Master (? <i>Sanders, v. Little</i> , p. 275).	1533
23	{	<i>Toly</i> , William	Friar, S.T.P. “ <i>Regent</i> ” in this house.	150 (<i>sic</i>)
		<i>Goodfeld</i> , Walter	Friar, S.T.P. Warden of this house (<i>v. Little</i> , p. 131).	1521

B.—IN THE CHAPEL OF ALHALLCWS—*continued.*

				Died.
24	Longfelde, Eliz.	....	....	1503
25	Burton, Robert	....	Friar, S.T.P. "Regent" in this house (r. Little, p. 130).	1522
26	Eccleston, Gilbert	....	Citizen and goldsmith (r. Gage's <i>Hist. of Thingoe Hundred</i> , p. 47).	(1530)
	" Katharine	....	Wife of above	158 (<i>sic</i>)
27	" A—	....	" "	152 (<i>sic</i>)
	Kyrge, John	....	Friar, Confessor to Q. Isabella.	
28	Chamberlain, Robt.	....	Friar, Doctor.	
	Romsey, John	....	Friar, Doctor (r. Little, p. 252).	(After 1389)
	Denham, William	....	Friar, " <i>Pater spiritualis eorumdem.</i> "	
29	Kyrge, John	....	Friar, Confessor of Ed. IV., and warden for 20 years.	1474
30	Rede, Sybil	....	....	1508
31	Liste, Robert	....	Son of Robert, Lord de Liste.	(? Before 1312)

C.—IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY.

				Died.
1	Gysors, John	....	Citizen and Knight (not the Mayor, since he was buried at St. Martin's Vintry).	
2	Banquentibus, Thos. de	....	Merchant " <i>de societate perusii</i> " (Peruzzi).	
3	Glociter, Thomas.	....	Wife of above.	
3A	" Anne	....	2nd daughter of Thos. Mallory, Esq., of Kent. (See Noble's <i>Hist. of College of Arms</i> , p. 119.)	1507
	Carllell, alias Norrey, Alice	....	....
4	Bever, Walter de	....	See p. 262.	
4A	" Joan	....	Wife of above.	
	Thorpe, Marion	....	....	(After 1526)
5	Stafford, Humphrey	....	Esquire, of Worcestershire (r. Nash's <i>Worcestershire</i> , I, 157).	1496
6	Oldall, Margaret	....	Daughter of Lord de Willoughby, and wife of William Oldall, Knight.	
7	Wynchelsey, Thos.	....	Friar, S.T.P. (r. <i>Mon. Franc.</i> , I, 518, 519, 520; Little, p. 256).	1436
8	Loretot, John	....	Knight.	
9	" Margaret	....	Wife of above.	
10	Roderys, Lupus	....	Baron of Spain	1475
11	Tybbay, John	....	Archdeacon of Huntingdon and <i>Cancellarius</i> to Joan, wife of Hen. IV.	1414

C.—IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY—*continued.*

12	<i>Bertram, Robert</i>	...	Baron of Botbald (<i>v. Hodgson's Northumberland</i> , II. ii. 126).	....	Died. (? 1363)
12A	<i>Lynne, Stephen</i>	...	Citizen and haberdasher ...	....	1528
13	<i>Malytt, Walter</i>	...	Canon of St. Paul's, and rector of St. Mary-le-bow.	....	1444
14	<i>Haversham, Ric. de</i>	...	Advocate of Court of Arches	....	1369
15	<i>Appleton, William</i>	...	Friar, Knight.		
16	<i>Barnes, Ralph</i>	....	Knight.		
17	<i>Kingston, Alice</i>	...	Wife of Thos. Kingston and daughter of Hugh, Lord St. John.	....	1439
18	<i>Caumbry, Reginald de</i>	...	Citizen, Knight.		
19	<i>Beaumont, Thomas</i>	...	Son of Henry, Lord Beaumont. (A man of this name <i>d.</i> 1369, and another 1413.)		
20	<i>Slawter, Katharine</i>	....	....	....	1497
21	<i>Tremayn, Joan</i>	....	Wife of Nicholas Tremayn, Esquire.	....	1448
21A	<i>Bell, Elizabeth</i>	....	....	....	1533
22	<i>Segrave, Ida de</i>	....	Wife of Hugh de Peche.		
22A	<i>Wotton, Robert</i>	....	Doctor of Decrees, and Advocate of Court of Arches.	....	(After 1526)
23	<i>Wright, John</i>	....	Citizen and goldsmith	....	1512
24	<i>Elcenden, Joan</i>	....	....	....	140 (<i>sic</i>) (1421 <i>P.C.C.</i>)
25	{ <i>Chamberlain, William</i> " <i>Joan</i>	...	Esquire, of Northants	....	147 (<i>sic</i>) (=1470)
26		....	Wife of above.		
26	<i>Gage, William</i>	....	<i>F. Gage's Hist. of Hengrave</i> , p. 227.	....	1496
27	{ <i>Butler, John</i> <i>Battell, Eliz.</i>	....	Knight.		
		....	Wife of John Battell, Esquire.		
28	<i>Wolfe, William</i>	....	Friar, Doctor	....	1466
29	{ <i>Horton, Adam de</i> " <i>Joan</i>	....	Knight.		
		....	Daughter of Sir Thomas Trivet.		
30	{ <i>Dauncy, Robert</i> " <i>Joan</i>	....	Of Walden, in Essex	....	1491
		....	Wife of above.		
31	<i>Goldysburgh, Margaret</i>	....	Wife of Richard Goldysburgh.		
32	<i>Asschle, John</i>	....	Knight	....	1417-8
33	{ <i>Wgett, John</i> " <i>Margaret</i>	....	Citizen and draper....	....	1448
		....	Wife of above.		
34	{ <i>Fylongley, Richard</i> " <i>Paris, Margaret</i>	....	Esquire of Ed. the Black Prince.		
		....	Wife of above.		
35	<i>Salles, Benedict</i>	....	Merchant of Bayonne.		
36	<i>Pisario, Gerald de</i>	....	Friar, Doctor of Theology. From province of Aquitaine.		
	{ <i>Brytell, Thomas</i> <i>Asshewell, John.</i> <i>Hamle, Robert.</i> <i>Bekerton, John.</i>	....	Citizen and mercer, Sergeant-at-Arms <i>temp.</i> Ed. IV.	....	145 (<i>sic</i>)
37					

C.—IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY—*continued*.

					Died.
38	<i>Spensar</i> , Roger....	Citizen and goldsmith	....	....	1491
	„ Margaret	Wife of above	....	....	14815 (<i>sic</i>)
39	<i>Strete</i> , John	Citizen and goldsmith	....	....	1463
	„ Joan	Wife of above	....	....	1510
	<i>Kelke</i> , Stephen....	Citizen and goldsmith	....	....	1415
40	„ Katharine ..	Wife of above.			
	„ Joan				
41	<i>Waltam</i> , Richard	Friar, “ <i>Paler</i>”	....	....	1375
42	<i>Bavell</i> , John	„			
43	<i>Castro</i> , Bartholomew de	Built the Frater. Knight, Citizen.			
44	<i>Fitzhugh</i> , Thomas	Esquire	....	....	1433
	„ Alice	Wife of above.			
44A	<i>Wircet</i> , Robert.				
44B	<i>Godfrey</i> , Henry	Rector.			
44C	<i>Slauter</i> , Hugh	Citizen and innkeeper.			
	<i>Cowley</i> , Thomas	Esquire.			
45	<i>Chamberlain</i> , Margery de.	Of Southampton. Wife of above.			
46	<i>Labarre</i> , Walter	Of Herefordshire.			
	„ John	„			
46A	<i>Beynton</i> , John	Esquire, of Wiltshire.			
47	<i>Masse</i> , Henry	Citizen and goldsmith.			
	„ Joan	Wife of above.			
48	<i>Anne</i> , William....	“ <i>Generosus</i> ” of Gray’s Inn, Son of Alexander Anne, Recorder of London.	....	....	1451
49	<i>Dawson</i> , John	Esquire.			
50	<i>Whittington</i> , William....	Esquire, Lord of Pauntley, in Gloucestershire.	....	....	1470
51	<i>Arundel</i> , Humfrey	Knight	....	....	1468
51A	<i>Rothenale</i> , Margaret	Wife of Sir John Rothe- nale.			
52	<i>Langley</i> , Walter	Esquire, of Knolton, in East Kent (<i>v. Hasted</i> , <i>Hist. of Kent</i> , IV, 209).	....	....	1470
53	„ Joan	(? Wife of above.)			
	<i>Katharine</i>				
54	<i>Margaret</i>	“ <i>Domicellæ</i> ” to Q. Anne of Bohemia.			
	<i>Tyffelde</i> , Massillia.				
55	<i>Leut</i> , John	Friar, “ <i>Custos</i> ” of Cam- bridge.			
56	<i>Clemens</i> , Thomas	Esquire, of Cornwall	....	....	1473
57	<i>Pykett</i> , John.				
57A	<i>Marshall</i> , John	Esquire.			
58	<i>Pemerton</i> , Nicholas	Citizen and leatherseller	....	....	1521
59	<i>Arays</i> , Margaret.				
60	„ Henry	Husband of above, knight.			
61	<i>Fowler</i> , John	Citizen and fellmonger	....	....	1494
	„ Alice	Wife of above	....	....	159 (<i>sic</i>)
62	<i>Chamberlain</i> , Margery	Wife of Will. Chamberlain	....	....	1431
63	<i>Elyngham</i> , Thomas	“ <i>Generosus</i>”	....	....	1479
	<i>Corele</i> , Thomas	Esquire, Coroner and Attorney to Hen. IV. and Hen. V.	....	....	1422
64	„ Agnes	Wife of above.			
65	<i>John</i>	Elected to abbacy of Battle.			

C.—IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY—*continued*.

66 {	<i>Baker</i> , William ....	....	....	....	....	Died.
	<i>Marshall</i> , John ....	....	Esquire. (2 Same as C,	....	....	1488
			57A.)			
67	<i>Gruffyga</i> , Humphrey.	....			
68	<i>Hyllingham</i> , Joan ....	....	Daughter of Robert	....	....	1439
			Chalons.			

D.—IN THE CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES.

1 {	<i>Blount</i> , Walter....	....	Lord Montjoy, K.G., High	....	Died.
			Treasurer of England, etc.	....	1474
2 {	„ Edward	....	Grandson of above	....	1475
	„ Alice	....	Married: (1) William	....	1521
			Browne, Mayor of London; (2) William Blount,		
			Lord Montjoy.		
3	„ Anne	....	Daughter of John Blount,	....	1480
			Lord Montjoy.		
4 {	„ William	....	Son of Walter Blount, first	....	1471
			Lord Montjoy (<i>v. supra</i>).		
5	„ James	....	....	....	1492
6	„ Eliz.	....	Wife of Sir Robert Curson	....	1491
6A	<i>Strange</i> , John.	....	....
6B	<i>Meynter</i>....	....	Countess of, in Scotland.		
7	<i>Patricius</i>	....	Esquire, of Scotland.		
	<i>Goldysburgh</i> , Eliz.	....	Wife of John Goldysburgh		
			and John Deyncourt.		
8	<i>Goddard</i> , William	....	Friar, Doctor of Sacred	....	1485
			Law, warden of this house		
			(<i>v. Little</i> , p. 262-4).		
9 {	<i>Burghersh</i> , Bartholo-	....	....	....	(1355)
	mew.				
10	<i>Burghersh</i> , Eliz.	....	Wife of above	....	(1360)
11	<i>Taux</i> , Burga de.	....	....
	<i>Burghersh</i> , John	....	Son of Bartholomew (<i>v.</i>		
			<i>supra</i>).		
12	<i>Blount</i> , John	....	Lord Montjoy, Captain of	....	1485
			Guisnes and Hamme.		
13	<i>Marys</i> , Nicholas	....	Of Genoa, Constable of	....	1343
			Bordeaux.		
14	<i>Buxhale</i> , Adam	....	Citizen.		
15	<i>Blount</i> , John	....	Knight	....	1531
16 {	<i>Philpot</i> , John	....	Mayor	....	1384
	<i>Sampford</i> , Joan	....	Wife of John Philpot	....	1374
	„ John	....	Son of above.		
17	<i>Brembre</i> , Nicholas	....	Citizen, Mayor, 1377, etc.	....	(1399)
			Knight (<i>v. Dict. Nat.</i>		
			<i>Biogr.</i> , VI, 255).		
18	<i>Blount</i> , Roland	....	Esquire	....	159 (<i>sic</i>)
19	<i>Bouteyn</i> , Margaret	....	Daughter of Lord Montjoy	....	159 (<i>sic</i>)
20	<i>Hatfield</i> , Tussanus	....	Sergeant to the Crown under	....	1491
	(Thurstane).		Ed. IV.		

D.—IN THE CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES—*continued.*

21	<i>Seneler, Margaret</i>	Daughter of John Philpot (D, 16). Wife of Thos. Seneler, Esq., and John Neloud, Esq.	....	Died. 1438
22	<i>Bradbery, Robert</i> ....	....	....	1489
23	<i>Francisci, Mavers</i>	Merchant of Florence	....	1342
24	<i>Savage, Adam</i>	Friar, " <i>Pater</i> ," warden of Greyfriars' house, Winchester, for 20 years.	....
25	<i>Brayns, Robert</i>	Friar, Master of the Novices at above house.	....	1492
26	<i>Pomferet, Geoffrey</i> ...	Sergeant-at-Arms of Edward III.		
27	<i>Gray, Joan</i> ...	Wife of John Gray, Lord of Codnor (who died 1335).		
28 {	<i>Clifton, Nicholas</i>	Knight.		
	„ <i>Eleanor</i>	Daughter of Thomas West, Lord Delawarr (who died 1525-6).		

E.—IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. FRANCIS.

				Died.
1	<i>Gunnirs, John de.</i>			
2	<i>Scales, Thomas</i>	Son of (Thomas) Lord Scales.	....	(Before 1460)
3	<i>Botryngh, Henry</i>	Esquire, of Devon and Cornwall (? Bottreux.)		
4	<i>Crocherd, John.</i>			
5	<i>Cheyne, John</i>	And two sisters, all children of Alan Cheyny, Knight.		
6	<i>Robsard, John</i>	K.G. ....	....	1450
7	<i>Raymond, James</i> ....		....	1341
8	<i>Pancius</i>	" <i>Magister Pancius Medicus</i> ."		
8A	<i>Cheyne, Alan</i>	Knight.		
9	<i>Mallory, Thomas</i>	Knight, of Monkenkyrkby, in Warwickshire.	....	1470
10	<i>Yonge, Thomas</i>	" <i>Justiciarius de communibanco</i>."	....	1476
11	<i>Baldwyn, John</i>	Fellow of Gray's Inn, Common Sergeant of the City of London, " <i>Depositor</i> " of this convent.	....	1469
12	<i>Wrottesley, Walter</i>	Knight, under the Earl of Warwick.	....	1473
13	<i>La Cochia, Gwynfredus de.</i>	Merchant of Lueca.		
14	<i>Laterino, Bonaceorso de</i>	Merchant.		
15 {	<i>Danvers, William</i>	Esquire, of Berkshire, Under Treasurer of England.	....	1439
	„ <i>Joan</i> ...	Wife of above	....	1475 (1457 P.C.C.)

			Died.
16	<i>Thomaxini</i> , Bartholomew.	(<i>J.</i> Sharpe, I, 550)	Alive 1319)
	<i>Thomaxini</i> , ...	Wife of above.	
	„ <i>Nicholas</i> ...	Son of above.	
17	<i>Jennyns</i> , Stephen	Tailor, Alderman, Mayor. Knight.	1523
18	<i>Apar</i> , Thomas	Esquires of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. Died at Barnet.	(1471)
19	<i>Mylwater</i> , John		
	<i>Lippomanno</i> , John de	“ <i>Venerus, eximius septem arcium liberalium collatorumque sororum (? scientiarum), ac sacre theologie perseculator.</i> ”	1437
20	<i>Poins</i> , Nicholas	Esquire	1512
21	<i>Delamare</i> , William	Esquire, son of Robert Delamere, Esquire, of Aldermaston, Berks.	
22	<i>Poston</i> , Nicholas	Monk of St Alban's, and Prior of Tynmouth.	1194
23	<i>Elkington</i> , Robert	Knight, of Lincolnshire	146 (<i>sic</i>)
24	<i>Havering</i> , Richard	...	1388
	„ <i>Agnes</i>	Wife of above.	
25	<i>Barryt</i> , George	Esquire	1525
26	<i>Maneris</i> , Andrew de	Merchant of Florence	139 (<i>sic</i>)
27	<i>Hatton</i> , Thomas	Friar, “ <i>Pater.</i> ”	1419
	<i>Lenthall</i> , Edmund	Esquire	1447
28	„ <i>Henry</i>	Sons of Margaret de Arundel, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel.	(1447)
	„	Wife of Edmund, daughter of William de la Zouche and Seymour.	1483
29	<i>Tresilian</i> , Robert	Knight, and Justice	1338
30	<i>Farent</i> , Thomas	Chaplain	(1404)
30A	<i>Bregerach</i> , Brunetus de	Esquire. (= de Bergerac).	
30B	<i>Wetnall</i> , Margaret.		
31	<i>Prytelwell</i> , Sibyl	Wife of John Prytelwell.	
	„ <i>David</i>	Son of above.	
32	<i>Moleyns</i> , Anne	Wife of William, Lord Moleyns, and daughter of John Walysburgh, Esquire, of Cornwall (v. Cokayne's <i>Peerage</i> , IV, 276).	1487
33	<i>Imperialibus</i> , John de	Merchant of Genoa.	
34	<i>Thorley</i> , Beatrix	Wife of Nicholas Thorley Esquire.	1420
35	„ <i>Elizabeth</i>	Daughter of Robert Thorley, and Lady Anne de Lisle.	1396
36	<i>Barnard</i> , Margaret	Wife of John Barnard of Graunt Bownden, Esquire, of Leicestershire.	1398
37	<i>Festrafte</i> , Alice	Sister of John Walysburgh, and daughter of Lady Joan Pomeroy (<i>d.</i> 1435).	1471
38	<i>Masse</i> , Ralph	Esquire	1521
	„ <i>Philippa</i>	Wife of above.	

E.—IN THE CHAPEL OF ST. FRANCIS—*continued*.

39	<i>Lucy, Geoffrey</i>	Son of Geoffrey, Lord de Lucy.	Died.
40	<i>Benet, Joan</i>	Wife of Thomas Bennett, Merchant of the Staple.	14313 (sic)
40A	<i>Ferers, Matilda</i>	Wife of Lord de Ferers.	
41	<i>Bailby, Marinus</i>	" <i>De Veneriis</i> " (? = Venetis)	1430
42	<i>Joly, John</i>	Of St. Cyriac	1357
43	<i>Acton, Hugh</i>	Citizen and tailor	1530
43	" <i>Katharine</i>	Wife of above.	
44	<i>Maryns, Roger de</i>	Esquire. An ancestor of William Hawte, Knight, of Kent.	1341
45	<i>Gylle, Stephen</i>	Doctor of either Law, and advocate of the Court of Arches.	140 (sic)
46	<i>Suttell, Henry</i>	Esquire	1505
46	" <i>Joan</i>	Wife of above (<i>P.C.C.</i> <i>Wills</i> give wife "Elizabeth").	
47	<i>Bedell, Christina</i>	Wife of William Bedell, Esquire, and daughter of Henry Suttell, of Stokfaston, in Leicestershire.	1540
47A	<i>Radcliff.</i>		
48	<i>Danzys, Gerard</i>	Merchant of Florence	1457
49	<i>Fraunceys, Maria</i>	Wife of Thomas Fraunceys	1457
50	<i>Walter, John</i>	York Herald-at-Arms (? = Waters) (Noble's <i>College of Arms</i> , p. 90).	152 (sic)
51	<i>Sanders, Margery</i> ....	....	1521
52	<i>More, John</i>	Norroy Herald-at-Arms	1491
53	<i>Aghton, Richard</i>	Esquire, of Lancashire	1439
54	<i>Ingolsby, Robert</i>	Friar, " <i>Pater</i> ," vice-warden of this house.	1494
55	<i>Lynwood, Thomas</i>	Friar, porter of this house, and confessor to the Nuns of Barking.	156 (sic)
56	<i>Banaud, John</i>	Citizen and cofferer	1457
56	" <i>Agnes</i>	Wife of above.	
57	<i>Bayly, John</i>	Clerk of the Privy Seal to Henry V.	1420
58	<i>Brenchle, John</i>	Doctor, and advocate in the Court of Arches.	
59	<i>Bloghon, John</i>	Doctor and " <i>Officialis</i> " of Court of Arches.	
60	<i>Gylle, John</i>	Doctor of either Law, advocate of the Roman Curia and the Court of Arches.	141 (sic)
61	<i>Cayle, John</i>	Citizen and painter.	
62	<i>Grayruford, George</i>	" <i>Dominus</i> "	1512
63	<i>Burton, William</i>	Died in the habit of St. Francis.	15—
64	<i>Shardlow, Margaret</i>	" <i>Domina</i> ."	
65	<i>Norrey, Margaret</i>	Wife of E. 52	1487
66	<i>Sabraham, William</i>	Son of Nicholas Sabraham.	
67	<i>Hopton, George</i>	Knight	1489
68	<i>Havardyn, Eliz.</i> ....	....	1489

					Died.
1	Typhania	....	....	"<i>Dominia</i> ," Nurse of Q.	
2				Isabella.	
3	Gwydon[is], Simon	....	....	Esquire of the King	1356
4	Gwydo	....	....	"<i>Dominus</i> ," Knight, of Florence. (? These two persons the same.)	1356
5	{ Galeys, William	....	....	Esquire of Queen Isabella.	
	" Robert	....	....	Son of above.	
6	Tabelecter, Alice	....	....	Wife of Geoffrey Tabelecter.	
7	Myrwyg, John	....	....	Citizen of London.	
8	Wygdeslade, John	....	....	"<i>Generosus</i> ," of Devon. " <i>Prothonotarius de com- muni banco</i> ."	1468
9	Yatmenstre, John de	....	....	Knight, and afterwards friar.	
10	Spigurnell, Ralph	....	....	Knight (c. Sharpe, I, 430)	(Alive 1338)
11	Nykke	....	....	Doctor of either Law, and Archdeacon of Wells.	1494
12	Hyllton, William	....	....	Esquire.	
13	Canyuge, Thomas	....	....	Friar, " <i>Magister sacre theologie</i> ."	
	{ Wigmores, John	....	....	Esquire, Fellow of Gray's Inn.	154 (<i>sic</i>) (= 1454)
	" Robert	....	....	Son of above.	
15	{ Baynion, Roger	....	....	....	(After 1526)
	Luter, Isabella	....	....	Daughter of above....	
16	Whitting, Christopher	....	....	....	151 (<i>sic</i>)
17	Hayes, William	....	....	Of Gray's Inn	1530
18	Sulham, Nicolaa de	....	....	"<i>Valens domicella</i> ."	
19	Seller, John	....	....	Friar, Doctor of Theology, warden of this convent.	
20	Studley, Christopher	....	....	"<i>Electus</i> "	157 (<i>sic</i>)
21	Charnocke, John	....	....	Doctor of Laws, and advocate of the Court of Arches.	1485
22	Rawdon, Nicholas	....	....	Minor Canon of St. Paul's	1479
23	Kenyngham, Thos. de	....	....	Rector of Swanton.	
24	{ Verney, Henry	....	....	Esquire.	
	" Juliana	....	....	Wife of above.	
25	Wodgylston, Henry	....	....	Friar. " <i>ad cuius excita- cionem, informacionem, et laborem, omnes Judei fuerunt finaliter expulsi de regno Anglie tempore Edwardi 3ⁱⁱ</i> ."	
26	Chew, Thomas	....	....	Friar	1531
27	Person, John	....	....	Friar, " <i>Electus et cursor theologie huius loci</i> ." (See Little, p. 277.)	1527
28	Caro Monte, Mauricius de.	....	....	Esquire, of Gascony. (= Caumont, or Chaumont).	
29	Ryzppyngall, Thos.	....	....	Friar.	
30	Bardi, Beatrice dei	....	....	Wife of (?) Gantrone	1392
31	Bardi, Philip dei	....	....	Of Florence, a master of the company (" <i>comitiva</i> ") of the Bardi.	1362
32	Foretti, Dino	....	....	Belonging to the company of the Bardi of Florence.	(Living 1350)

F.—IN THE PASSAGE BETWEEN THE QUIRE AND THE ALTARS—*continued.*

33	<i>Provan, Peter</i> ....	....	"<i>De Cargnano.</i> "		Died.
34	<i>Donati Baldewini, John</i>	....	Merchant, of Florence	....	1369
35	<i>Bagott, John</i> ....	....	{ Children of William Bagot, Knight.		
	" Katharine	....		
	" Margaret	....		
36	<i>Penne, Eliz. de la</i> ....	....	Daughter of Will. de Stat- ford, Knight, and wife of Thos. dela Penne, Esquire.	....	1415
37	<i>Pickering, Thos.</i> ....	....	Esquire	....	159 (<i>sic</i>) (= 1509)
38	<i>Somersham, Isabella de</i>	....	"<i>Valens domicella.</i> "		
39	<i>Goodwin, Katharine</i> ....	....	....	....	1488
40	<i>Willing, John</i> ....	....	Friar, porter of this house	....	1535
41	<i>Purle, Joan</i> ....	....	"<i>Valens domicella R.</i> <i>Isabelle.</i> "		
42	<i>Furner, John</i> ....	....	Friar, " <i>Cursor theologie</i>"	....	1483
43	<i>Kynman, John</i> ....	....	Rector of Allhallows " <i>ad</i> <i>fenum.</i>"	....	1352
44	<i>Euell, Reginald</i> ....	....	Friar, " <i>Pater.</i> "		
45	<i>Westgate, Thomas</i> ....	....	Friar, " <i>Pater,</i> " " <i>Custos,</i> " and Warden of this house.		
46	<i>Trug, Joan.</i> ....	....	Sister of above.		
	" Emma	....		
	<i>Roser, William</i>....	....	Friar, vice-warden of this house.		
47	<i>Cliff, Richard</i> ....	....	Friar, vice-warden of this house. (See Little, p.129.)	....	(After 1466)
48	<i>Wolcote, Christopher</i> ....	....	Friar	....	1527

G.—BEFORE THE ALTARS.

1	<i>Fulwood, John</i> ....	....	Citizen and tailor	....	Died.
	<i>Parker, Nicholas</i> ....	....	Principal registrar and keeper of the registers in the Court of Arches.	....	1521
2	" Margaret	....	Wife of above.		1484
	" Agnes	....		
3	<i>Walle, James</i> ....	....	Friar, " <i>Pater,</i> " Bishop of Kildare, suffragan of Bp. of London, warden of this house.	....	1494
4	<i>Hutton, James</i> ....	....	Doctor of Laws, and advo- cate of the Court of Arches.	....	1490
5	<i>Kepell (Henry?)</i> ....	....	Citizen and goldsmith	....	(1517?)
	<i>Devereux, John</i>....	....	Knight, Seneschal of the Royal Household.	....	(1392-3)
6	" Margaret	....	Wife of above, and formerly of (1) Sir Nich. Lovaine; (2) Henry, Lord Beau- mont; and daughter of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.		

G.—BEFORE THE ALTARS—*continued.*

7	{	Moyle, John ....	...	Fellow of Gray's Inn ....	...	Died. 1495
		„ Anne ....	...	Wife of above, " <i>Que fuit uxor post Willicmi Huddi militis, baro domini R. Hen. 7 et Hen. 8.</i> "	...	1501
8		Cobham, John ....	...	Lord Cobham. (Brasse exists in Cobham Church.)	...	(1407-8)
9		Morteyn, John ....	...	Knight.	...	
10		Deyncourt, John	....	Knight, Seneschal of the household of John, Duke of Lancaster.	...	(? 1406)
11		Robynson, John	....	Citizen ....	...	1511
12		Wardall, John....	...	Doctor of Laws, Canon of London and Lincoln, and advocate of the Court of Arches.	...	1472
	{	Norbery, John ....	....	Esquire, High Treasurer of England <i>temp.</i> Hen. IV. (<i>v. Jewitt's Reliquary</i> , XIII, 256).		
13		„ Petronilla	....	Wife of above. (Inscription at Stoke D'Abernon gives a wife Elizabeth.)		
		„ Henry	....	Esquire, son of above.		
		„ Anne ....	....	Wife of Henry, and daughter of W. Crosyer, Esquire.		
		„ John ....	....	Esquire, son of John abovementioned.		
14		Bulle, Ralph.				
15		Bavard, Andrew	...	Friar, " <i>Pater</i> ," warden of this convent (<i>v. Mon.</i> <i>Fran.</i> , I 520).	...	157 (<i>sic</i>)
16		Barker, Alice.				
17	{	Wytwang, John	....	Citizen and innkeeper ....	...	1463
		„ Alice	....		
18		Southlee, John ....	....	Knight.		
19		Uvedall, Eliz. ....	....	Daughter of Henry Nor- bery (<i>vid. supr.</i>), wife of (1) William Sydney, Esquire; (2) Thos. Uvedall, Knight.	...	1488
20		Sackville, Thomas.				
21		Lucy, Thomas ....	...	Knight, of Charlcote, War- wickshire.	...	1525
22		Faunton, Robert	....	Citizen and sadler.		
23	{	Lethen, John ....	....	Citizen and baker.		
		„ Margaret	....	Wife of above.		
24		Rever, Robert de la	....	Esquire, of Tormerton, son of Maurice de la Rever, of Gloucester- shire.	...	1457
25		Canynges, William	....	"<i>Generosus</i> " of Bristol ...	...	1458
26		Elmested, John	....	Of Sussex.		
27		Brokarys, Bernard	....	"First of that line in England."		
28		Mahmeyns, John	...	Esquire, brother of Thomas Mahmeyns, Knight.		

G.—BEFORE THE ALTARS—*continued*.

					Died.
29	<i>Malmeyns</i> , Thomas	....	Knight.		
30	" Alice	....	Wife of Thomas.		
31	" Nicholas.				
32	<i>Bricius</i>	....	Doctor of Laws, and advocate of the Court of Arches.		
33	{ <i>Almon</i> , Robert	....	Citizen and fishmonger	....	1510
	" Alice	....	Wife of above	....	1524
34	<i>Browne</i> , John	....	" <i>Generosus</i> " of Gray's Inn	....	1498
35	<i>Fernandi</i> , John	....		....	1483
36	<i>Uske</i> , Nicholas	....	Esquire, treasurer of the Duke of Lancaster, and after of the Town of Calais.	....	(1402)
37	<i>Persall</i> , Hugh	....	Knight	....	1490
38	<i>Rufford</i> , Robert	....	Esquire	....	1471
39	<i>Gest</i> , Richard	....	Esquire	....	(1407)
40	{ <i>Yonge</i> , John	....	Citizen and coppersmith	....	1510
	" Margaret	....		....	(1500)
41	<i>Munchensi</i>, —	....	Wife of William de Munchensi, Baron M., and mother of Idonea, wife of Hugh de Vere.		
42	<i>Goodwin</i> , Katharine	...		....	1488
43	<i>Kirketon</i> , Alex. de	....	Knight.		
44	{ <i>Alyn</i> , William	....	Citizen and mercer	....	1510
	" Anne	....	Wife of above.		
45	{ <i>Asswey</i> , Margaret.	....	Wife of Richard Preston.		
	<i>Preston</i> , Isabella	....	Citizen and goldsmith (?)	....	1510
	<i>Asseley</i> , Edward	....	Edward Ashley, of <i>P.C.C.</i> <i>Hills</i> , d. 1518).		
46	" Margaret	...		....	(1520)
47	<i>Lovenay</i> , Margaret	...	Wife of William Lovenay, Esquire (? the same who glazed the 15th window on the south side of the church).		
48	<i>Wolashull</i> , William	....	" <i>Generosus</i>"	....	1453
49	<i>Maltravers</i> , Agnes	....	(Wife of John Maltravers, Lord M., d. 1363-4.)	....	(1374-5)
50	<i>Clachus</i> , Lora.				
51	<i>Joyes</i> , John.				
52	<i>Crover</i> , Robert	....	Citizen and goldsmith.		
53	<i>Dyes</i> , Bernard	....	De Pymeroll. (= Puymirol)		

H.—IN THE NAVE.

					Died.
1	<i>Paulett</i> , William	....	Esquire, of Somerset	....	1482
	{ <i>Godfrey</i> , Richard	....	Citizen and salter	....	150 (<i>sic</i>)
2	" Alice	....	Wife of above		
	" Emma	....	" "	....	1497
3	<i>Arow</i> , John	....	Citizen and vintner	....	1489
4	<i>Moyle</i> , John	....	" <i>Generosus</i>"	....	1530
5	<i>Lynton</i> , John	....	Citizen and tailor	....	150 (<i>sic</i>)

II.—IN THE NAVE—*continued.*

6	<i>Lee, John</i>	Citizen and goldsmith	....	Died. 150 (<i>sic</i>)
7	<i>Ellys, Robert</i> ....	....	....
	" Agnes ...	Wife of above.	....
8	" Margery ...	....	....
	<i>Fynch, Robert</i>	Citizen and <i>pastelarius</i>	....	1155
9	" Joan ...	Wife of above.	....
	<i>Atwood, John</i>	Citizen and grocer...	....	1189
10	" Agnes ...	Wife of above.	....
	" Margaret ...	" "	....
11	" Edith ...	" "	....
	<i>Revers, John</i>	Citizen and skinner	....	1491
12	<i>Larans, John</i> ....	....	....	(After 1526)
13	<i>Browne, Robert</i>	Of Walsingham	....	1526
14	<i>Brokeherst, Joan</i>	Wife of — Brokeherst, citizen and haberdasher.	....	153 (<i>sic</i>)
15	<i>Rysby, Agnes</i> ....	....	....	(After 1526)
16	<i>Portulond, John</i> ....	....	....	(After 1526)
17	<i>Button, John</i>	Of Alton, in Wiltshire (?)	....	1523
18	<i>Ronaldis, Margaret</i> ....	"	....	1533
19	<i>Hannere, John</i> ....	"	....	1469
	" Joan ...	Wife of above.	....
20	<i>Woodmanton, William</i> ....	....	....	(After 1526)
21	<i>Walker, James</i> ...	Citizen and barber...	....	1491
22	<i>Ireland, Nicholas</i> ....	"	....	1510
23	<i>Grayson, Thomas</i> ....	"	....	152 (<i>sic</i>) (=1502)
	" Margaret ...	Wife of above.	....
24	<i>Rosse, Thomas</i>	Citizen and surgeon	....	1529
25	<i>Mundes, Eliz.</i>	....	....
26	<i>Whethall, Richard</i>	<i>Alias Baker</i>	....	157 (<i>sic</i>)
27	<i>Champion, Peter</i>	Esquire of the body to Hen. VII. and Hen. VIII.	....	1511
28	<i>Wibley, John</i> ....	"	....	1492
29	<i>Stergus, John</i>	Priest, Canon of Wells, " <i>Curie Cantuarie exami- nator generalis.</i>"	....	1467
30	<i>Treszavel, John</i>	Citizen and tailor	....	1520
	" Margery ...	Wife of above	....	1510
31	<i>Batux, William</i> ....	....	....
32	<i>Ewstas, William</i>	Esquire.	....
33	<i>Whylyams, Joan</i> ....	....	....
34	<i>Huske, Peter</i>	Citizen and painter	....	1463
	" Cicely ...	Wife of above.	....
35	<i>Carthealege, Robert</i>	" <i>Generosus.</i>"	....
36	" Emote.	....	....
	<i>Lego, William</i>	Citizen and barber...	....	1529
37	<i>Cottynghwith, Thomas</i>	Clerk of the Court of Archies, " <i>procurator gen- eralis.</i>"	....	1428
	" Matilda ...	Wife of above	....	1426
38	" Alice ...	" "	....	1448
39	<i>Marham, Thomas</i> ....	....	....	1459
40	<i>Herte, John</i>	" <i>Generosus</i>"	....	1449
41	<i>Peter</i>	Doctor of Physic (?)	....	1533
42	<i>Bennett</i>	Citizen.	....
43	<i>Eglyston, Thomas</i>	Citizen and stationer	....	1485
44	" Margaret ...	Wife of above	....	1471
45	" Margaret ...	" "	....	1478

II.—IN THE NAVE—*continued.*

					Died.
42	<i>Bell, Eliz.</i> ....	....	....	....	1502
43	<i>Cartelege, Thomas.</i>				
44 {	<i>Byrt, William</i> ....	....	Esquire of Edward IV.	....	148 (<i>sic</i>)
	<i>" Margaret</i> ....	....	Wife of above.		
45	<i>Osney, Matilda.</i> ..	....	....	....	1495
46 {	<i>Bridges, William</i> ...	....	Citizen and haberdasher	....	1518
	<i>" Elizabeth</i> ....	....	Wife of above.		
47	<i>Greyke, Alexander</i> ....	....	....	....	1465
48	<i>Toufeld, Robert</i> ....	....	Treasurer of the town of Berwick.	....	1413
49	<i>Mabell, Walter</i> ....	....	" <i>Generosus</i> "		
50	<i>Treby, John</i> ....	....	....	....	1422
51	<i>Durham, John</i> ....	....	Citizen and grocer.		
52 {	<i>Bassett, John</i> ....	....	Citizen and innkeeper	....	1420
	<i>" Joan</i> ....	....	Wife of above.		
53	<i>Richman, John</i>....	....	Fellow of Gray's Inn	....	1515
54 {	<i>Huddylston, Thomas</i> ...	....	Citizen and haberdasher	....	156 (<i>sic</i>) (=1506)
	<i>" Agnes</i> ....	....	Wife of above.		
55	<i>Hebsun, John</i> ....	....	Citizen and stationer	....	152 (<i>sic</i>) (=1502)
56	<i>Bughey, Henry</i> ....	....	" <i>Dominus.</i> "		
57	<i>Dybdale, William</i> ...	....	....	....	15—
58	<i>Newenham, Thomas.</i>				
59	<i>Ledston, Margaret.</i>				
60	<i>Grene, William</i> ....	....	....	....	150 (<i>sic</i>)
61	<i>Howton, William.</i>				
62	<i>Browne, Joan</i> ....	....	....	....	1501
63	<i>Croker, Alice.</i>				
64	<i>Martyn, John</i> ....	....	Goldsmith.		
65	<i>Gylson, Thomas</i> ....	....	Goldsmith.		
66 {	<i>Breggys, William</i> ....	....	Citizen and ironmonger	....	1517
	<i>" Agnes</i>....	....	Wife of above.		
67	<i>Bloot, Ralph</i> ....	....	Citizen and ironmonger	....	157 (<i>sic</i>)
68 {	<i>Clarke, John</i> ....	....	" <i>Unus baro domini Regis</i> <i>de Scaccario.</i>	....	1480
	<i>" ....</i> ....	....	Wife of above.		
69	<i>Clarke, Walter.</i>				
70	<i>Hungerforth, Alike</i> ....	....	Lady. (Executed at Tyburn)	....	1523
71	<i>Bynchester, William.</i>				
72	<i>Selby, Robert</i> ....	....	....	....	(After 1526)
73	<i>Newnham, John</i> ....	....	" <i>Generosus.</i> "		
74	<i>Byrde, William.</i>	....	....	....	1485
75 {	<i>Devy, Henry</i> ....	....	" <i>De societate cocorum.</i> "	....	1488
	<i>" ....</i> ....	....	Wife of above	....

J.—IN THE NORTH AISLE.

					Died.
1	<i>Prentys, Alice</i> ....	....		
2 {	<i>Whytte, Robert</i> ....	....	Citizen and grocer	....	1520
	<i>" Christina</i> ....	....	Wife of above	....	1515
3	<i>Bromyerd, Cicely.</i>				
4	<i>Oliver, Margery.</i>				
5	<i>Lucas, Alike.</i>				

J.—IN THE NORTH AISLE—*continued.*

					Died. 1498
6	{	<i>Bellamy</i> , Gilbert	Citizen and goldsmith		
		„ Alice	Wife of above.		
		<i>Hastjag</i> , Thomas	Citizen and fishmonger		156 (<i>sic</i>)
7	{	„ Agnes	Wife of above		(= 1506)
		<i>Hudson</i> , Rendolf	Citizen and goldsmith		150 (<i>sic</i>)
8	{	„ Elizabeth ...	Wife of above.		153 (<i>sic</i>)
9		<i>Whytwhan</i> , George ....	.....		(= 1503)
10		<i>Butsyde</i> , Thomas	“ <i>Generosus</i> , <i>super</i> 2 ^e <i>compilatorii</i> in <i>bradford</i> ” (<i>sic</i>). (? = Secondary of the Compter in Bread Street).		1529
11		<i>Hamden</i> , Eliz. ....	.....		1497
12	{	<i>Inglyshe</i> , Michael	Citizen and mercer		15—
		„ Margaret	Wife of above.		157 (<i>sic</i>)
13		<i>Steward</i>	Citizen and.....		
		<i>Robynson</i> , William	Citizen and sadler		(1529)
14	{	„ Katharine	Wife of above.		
		„ Joan	„ „		
15		<i>Thomas</i> , William ....	.....		1530
16		<i>Norton</i> , Olive de.	.....	
17		<i>Arnald</i> , John	Citizen and innkeeper		1492
18		<i>Garton</i> , Ydonea.	.....	
19	{	<i>Grene</i> , John	Citizen and butcher		1463
		„ Agnes ....	.....	
20	{	<i>Gotchere</i> , Stephen	Citizen and butcher.		
		„ Christina	Wife of above.		
21	{	<i>Potter</i> , Walter	Citizen and goldsmith		1459
		„ Agnes	Wife of above.		
22		<i>Curtes</i> , Emmote.	.....	
		<i>Walker</i> , James....	Citizen and butcher (N.B. This tomb already noted, H, 20).		
23	{	<i>Mariner</i> , William	Citizen and salter		1512
		„ Agnes	Wife of above		150 (<i>sic</i>)
		„ Juliana	„ „		15—
24		<i>Hebson</i> , John.	.....	
25	{	<i>Wilson</i> , William	Citizen and innkeeper.		
		„ Elena	Wife of above.		
26	{	<i>Wylthewater</i> , John	Citizen and whitbaker ...		1460
		„ Joan.	.....	
27	{	<i>Gee</i> , William	Citizen and draper....		1485
		„ Joan.	.....	
28	{	<i>Dabenev</i> , William	Notary public of the City of London.		1471
		„ Margaret	Wife of above.		
29	{	<i>Fooke</i> , John	Ironmonger.		
		„ Agnes	Wife of above.		
30		<i>Dalby</i> , Margaret.	.....	
31		<i>Hall</i> , Edward	“ <i>Generosus</i> ” and Fellow of Gray’s Inn.		147 (<i>sic</i>)
32		<i>Gyllbys</i> , John	Citizen and vintner.		
33	{	<i>Horne</i> , John	Citizen and grocer....		1514
		„ Katharine	Wife of above		1514
34	{	<i>Hoton</i> , William.	.....	
		„ Robert	Brother of above		1492

J.--IN THE NORTH AISLE--continued.

					Died. (After 1526)
35	Gryngbam, Katharine....	....	....	....	1493
36	Maque, Geoffrey ....	....	....	....
	" Margery.				
37	Tutbery, Robert	" <i>Claviger computatorii</i>	....		1413
		<i>Regis Henrici 4^{ti}."</i>			
38	Carboaell, John.	Wife of above.			
	" Alice				
39	Chyrcheerd, Richard	" <i>Generosus</i> " and Fellow	....		1498
		of Gray's Inn.			
	" Margaret	Wife of above.			
40	Bayly, William.				
41	Semer, Thomas....	Citizen and "pastelar."	....		1519
		" Lies in the habit of			
		St. Francis."			
	Bokebord, John.				
42	" Joan	Wife of above	....		1462
	" Alice	" "			
	" Margaret	" "			
43	Mortimer, John	Knight	Heart		1423
44	Thomas	" <i>Dominus</i> ," prebendary of	....		1528
		the College of Ripon.			
	Walter, Richard	Citizen and ironmonger	....		1460
45	" Cicely	Wife of above.			
	" Alice				
46	Rycrofte, Margaret	" Of the third order of	....		1517
		St. Francis."			
47	Conicon, Thomas	Citizen and haberdasher...	....		1410
	" Joan	Wife of above.			
48	Roger, John	" <i>Generosus</i> " ....	....		1463
	" Philippa	Wife of above.			
49	Emmingley, Richard	Citizen and " <i>cellarius</i> "	....		1466
		(sadler).			
	" Agnes	Wife of above	....		1470
	Lodgeman, Richard	Citizen and flesher....	....		1476
50	" Margaret	Wife of above.			
	" Agnes	" "			
	" Joan	" "			
51	Candych, Thomas	Citizen and goldsmith.			
	" —	Wife of above.			
52	Frowyke, Reginald.				
53	Marshall, William.				
54	Bouge, William	Friar ....	....		1486
	" John	Friar, brother of above	....		1484
55	Frowyke, Henry	Alderman.			
	" Isabella.				
56	Lemer, John.				
57	Hallon, Richard	Esquire, brother of Robert,	....		1414
		Bp. of Salisbury.			(1419)
58	Donne, Thomas	Of Hampshire	....		1471
59	Palmore, Roger.				
	" Sibyl	Wife of above.			
60	Leuchenor, Thomas	Son of " <i>dominus</i> " Thomas			
		Leuchenor.			
61	Dighton, John.				
62	Orchard, Robert	Attorney of the Guildhall	....		1472
63	Tyrry, Margaret.				
	" Richard	Her husband	....		(1495)
64	Blake, John	" <i>Valens</i> <i>aprenticius</i>			
		<i>curie</i> " (!)			

J.—IN THE NORTH AISLE—*continued*.

							Died.
65	{	<i>Sutton, Alan de.</i>	....	Wife of above.			
66		<i>Ascheburnham, Robert.</i>	....			
67		<i>Seatuar, John.</i>	....			
68	{	<i>Denton, Thomas</i>	....	Citizen and pewterer	....	....	1486
		<i>Joan</i>	....	Wife of above.			
69		<i>Ranger, William</i>	....	Priest	....	....	1518
70		<i>Turch, John</i>	....	Of Sussex	....	....	(After 1526)
71			....			
72		<i>Senche, Martin.</i>	....			
73		<i>Burges, John</i>	....	Friar.			
74		<i>Brytwalter, John.</i>	....			
75		<i>Welford, Richard.</i>	....			
76		<i>Symson, John</i>	....	Priest	....	....	(After 1526)
77		—	....	Citizen and fellmonger.			
78		<i>Rede, William.</i>	....			
79		<i>Suddell, Ralph</i>	....		....	....	(After 1526)
80		<i>Willy, John</i>	....		....	....	(After 1526)
81		<i>Pettys, Philip</i>	....		....	....	1518

K.—IN THE SOUTH AISLE.

							Died.
1		<i>Taulle, John</i>	....	Doctor of Law, and chan- cellor of the Church of St. David's.	....		1509
2		<i>Porey, John</i>	....	Esquire, Master of the to Hen. VIII.	....		1526
3	{	<i>Willia, Baynoit de (?)</i>	....	Merchant of Lucca.			
		<i>„ Sibil</i>	....	Wife of above.			
		<i>„ Joan</i>	....	Daughter of above.			
4		<i>Porter, William</i>	....	Sergeant-at-Arms to Hen. VIII.	....		1515
5		<i>Lynne, Joan.</i>	....			
6		<i>Kyngman, William</i>	....		....	....	1326
7	{	<i>Barro, Thomas</i>	..	Citizen and vintner	....	....	1434
		<i>„ Alice</i>	....	Wife of above	....	....	1427
8	{	<i>Glantham, Thomas</i>	....	“ <i>Generosus</i> ”	....	....	1511
		<i>„ Joan</i>	....	Wife of above.			
9		<i>Rotheley, William</i>	....	Citizen and goldsmith	....	....	1470
10		<i>Rotheley, Edmund</i>	....	“ <i>Generosus</i> ”	....	....	1470
11		<i>English, Roger</i>	....	Chaplain	....	....	1490
12		<i>Chesnall, Richard</i>	....		....	....	1527
13	{	<i>Rowlyn, John</i>	....		....	....	1440
		<i>„ Joan</i>	....	Wife of above.			
14	{	<i>Keslen, Richard</i>	....	Esquire, Sergeant-at-Arms	....		1472
		<i>„ Elizabeth</i>	....	Wife of above	....	....
15		<i>Bejan, William</i>	....	“ <i>Generosus</i> ”	....	....	1492
16		<i>Travers, Peter</i>	....		....	....	1526
17	{	<i>Reston, Henry</i>	....	“ <i>Generosus</i> ” of Gray's Inn	....		1485
		<i>„ Emma</i>	....	Wife of above.			
18		<i>Bryan, William</i>	....	(? Same as William Beyan (<i>v. sup.</i>), who died 1492.)	....		14812 (<i>sic</i>)
19	{	<i>Keystrim, Richard</i>	....	Citizen	....	....	1440
		<i>„ Agnes</i>	....	Wife of above.			
		<i>„ Alice</i>	....	“ “		

K.—IN THE SOUTH AISLE—*continued.*

20	<i>Blaston, John</i> ....	....	....	....	....	Died.
21	<i>Barrey, John</i> ....	....	<i>Alias</i> Markeley.	Citizen	....	1396
			and fellmonger.			1439
22	<i>Higgons, Richard</i> ....	....	" <i>Valettus vicecomitis.</i> "			
23	<i>Ellys, Richard.</i>					
24	{ <i>Boor, John</i> ....	....	Citizen and harper.			
		....	Wife of above.			
25	<i>Bunting, Philip</i> ....	....	Citizen and tailor	....	....	153 (<i>sic</i>)
26	<i>Rede, Alice.</i>					
27	<i>Remys, John.</i>					
28	<i>Mariot, William</i> ....	....	....	....	....	1487
29	<i>Marshall, Thomas.</i>					
30	<i>Prowde, Agnes</i>....	....	....	....	....	1487
31	<i>Gossupp, Thomas</i> ....	....	Chaplain at St. George's.	....	....	1479
			Windsor			
32	<i>Poole, Robert a.</i>					
33	<i>Mydelston, William.</i>					
34	<i>Brytten, Andrew.</i>					
35	<i>Ireland, Nicholas.</i>					
36	<i>Baudini, Lewis</i> ....	....	Merchant of Florence	....	....	1471
37	<i>Larwood, John</i> ....	....	" <i>Generosus.</i> "			
38	<i>Grene, George.</i>					
39	<i>Griesse, Robert.</i>					
40	<i>Newlyn, Eliz.</i>					
41	<i>Aubry, John</i> ....	....	Son of John Aubry, Mayor	....	....	1368
			and Alderman of Norwich			
42	<i>Wilkinson, Laurence.</i>					
43	{ <i>Treuer, Richard</i> ....	....	" <i>Generosus</i> " of Wales.			
		....	Brother of above.			
44	<i>Conningham, Thomas</i> ....	....	....	....	....	1497
45	<i>Hugh, John</i> ....	....	....	....	....	1491
46	<i>Hion, Alice.</i>					
47	<i>Moungomery, Nicholas</i>		" <i>Generosus,</i> " citizen and			1485
			grocer, son of John M. de			
			Epton, in Northants.			
48	<i>Martyn, Robert.</i>					
49	<i>Webbeley, John</i> ....	....	Innkeeper	....	....	1492
50	<i>Noquerell, Robinetti</i> (<i>sic</i>)	....	Of Normandy	....	....	1491
51	<i>Fenton, Isabella</i> ....	....	....	....	....	1524

L.—IN THE CLOISTER. (a) IN THE EAST WALK.

1	<i>Gorwyck, Simon</i> ....	....	Friar, " <i>Pater,</i> " Doctor of			Died.
			Sacred Law.			
2	<i>Brown, Joan</i> ....	....	....	....	....	1500
3	—, William	....	....	....	....	Heart
4	<i>Bugberd, Alice.</i>					
5	<i>Holdyche, John</i> ....	....	Friar.			
6	<i>Pale, Edward</i> ....	....	Friar.			
	<i>Crosse, John</i> ....	....	Citizen and butcher.			
	—	....	Wife of above.			
7	{ <i>Nottingham, Nicholas.</i>	....	Wife of above.			
					
	<i>Treynham, John.</i>	....	Wife of above.			
8	<i>Forman, Hugh</i>....	....	Friar, priest	....	....	1506

L. IN THE CLOISTER. (a) IN THE EAST WALK—*continued*.

9	<i>Stamford</i> , John	....	The younger. Friar.		Died.
10	<i>Janis</i> , Thomas	....	Friar	....	1505
11	<i>Hooke</i> , Thomas	....	Friar, " <i>2^o Cantor loci et valens pater apud in- firmos.</i>"	....	1501
12	<i>Schreyensberg</i> , Richard	....	Friar, warden of this house	....	1496
	<i>Sedbar</i> , Henry	....	Friar, " <i>Cursor theologie</i>"	....	1489
	<i>Sheff</i> , Petronilla	....	Wife of John Sheff	....	1464
	<i>Gylot</i> , Michael	....	Friar.		
	<i>Stanley</i> , Richard	....	Friar.		
	<i>Massy</i> , John	....	Friar, " <i>Pater?</i> "		
	<i>Stanlow</i> , William	....	Friar.		
	<i>Arsteyn</i> , William	....	Friar.		
	<i>Wedebake</i> , Henry	....	Friar, " <i>Cantor loci</i>"	....	1489
	<i>Thorpp</i> , William	....	Friar, " <i>Cursor theologie</i> " in this house.	....	1468
	<i>Selford</i> , William	....	Friar	....	1487
	<i>Hooke</i> , John	....	"<i>Cantor</i> " in this house.		
	<i>Rowlyn</i> , John	....	Friar, " <i>Valens pater in restibularii (sic) per multos annos.</i>"	....	1525
	<i>Bontaga</i>, —	....	Mother of John Knotte.		
	<i>Taylor</i> , Edmund	....	Citizen and "pursser"	....	15—
	<i>Gariston</i> , John	....	Priest.		
	<i>Egerdyn</i> , William	....	Friar, deacon	....	1500
	<i>Brothers</i> , Richard	....	Friar, priest.		
	<i>Wynnyngton</i> , John	....	Friar, priest.		
	<i>Garton</i> , Beatrice.				

(b) IN THE SOUTH WALK.

1 {	<i>English</i> , John	....	Citizen and coppersmith.		Died.
	" Margery	....	Wife of above.		
2	<i>Hamond</i> , Katharine.	....	....	....	1489
3	<i>Cooll</i> , —				
4	<i>Wygton</i> , Thomas	...	Citizen and fishmonger.		
5	<i>Stapull</i> , Margaret.				
6	<i>Wygynston</i> , William.				
7	<i>Beryngton</i> , Richard	....	"<i>Generosus.</i> "		
8	<i>Lunley</i> , John	....	Friar	....	1526
9	<i>Payn</i> , Joan.				
10	<i>Cecilia</i> , John de	...	Friar.		
11	<i>King</i> , John	....	....	....	1526
12	<i>Broune</i> , Cicely	....	Prioress of Ankerwyke	....	1522
13	<i>Fernell</i> , Simon	....	Friar, son of Reginald	....	1462
14	<i>Pogden</i> , Matthew	...	Friar.		
15	<i>Doglas</i> , Archibald	...	....	....	1485
16	<i>Slyndon</i> , Alice.				
17	<i>Yoll</i> , Robert	....	Friar.		
18	<i>Brent</i> , William	....	"<i>Generosus</i> " of Wiltshire.		
19	<i>Appthomas</i> , William	....	Friar of the order of the Holy Trinity of Hounslow.	....	1478
20	—	....	Warden of Ware.		
21	<i>Paul</i> , Robert	....	Friar, of the "custody" of Cambridge.		

(b) IN THE SOUTH WALK—continued.

22	<i>Fyche</i> , Richard	....	Friar	....	....	....	Died. 1509
23	<i>Eglyston</i> , John	....	Friar.				
24	<i>Buxson</i> , William	....	“<i>Quondam</i> [—] <i>sancti</i> <i>Johannes (sic) Thersusalem</i> <i>in Anglia.</i> ”				
25	<i>Smyth</i> , William	....	Friar, porter of this house		....		1496
26	——, William	....	Servant of the porter.				

(c) IN THE WEST WALK.

	<i>Warde</i> , Richard	....	Friar.				
	<i>Blackeman</i> , John	....	Friar	....	....	....	1501
	<i>Cryspe</i> , Nicholas	....	Friar	....	....	....	1528
	<i>Borglett</i> , William	....	Friar	....	....	....	1501
	<i>Bersted</i> , John.						
	<i>Catysyn</i> , Eliz.						
	<i>Hent</i> , John	....	“<i>Famulus valentini petytt</i> <i>de Insula.</i> ”				

(d) IN THE NORTH WALK.

	—	....	Friar, “ <i>Pater</i> ,” of Spain.				
	<i>Spycer</i> , Robert	....	Friar.				
	<i>Holme</i> , John	....	Friar.				
	<i>London</i> , Thomas	....	Friar.				
	<i>Mouatferand</i> , Bertrand		Knight.				
	“ Petronilla		Wife of above.				
	<i>Poollaylome</i> , Hugh.						
	“ Isabella	....	Wife of above.				
	<i>Norwyke</i> , William	....	Fellmonger.				
	<i>Hylton</i> , Walter	....	Friar	....	....	....	1454

M.—IN THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

1	<i>Peter</i>	....	Friar.			
2	<i>Hontyngfelde</i> ,		“ <i>Domina.</i> ”			
	Imaine de.					

EXCHEQUER ANNUITY TALLIES.¹

By PHILIP NORMAN, TREAS.S.A.

The origin of tallies is a point of extreme doubt, and it will be sufficient for our present purpose to suggest that they were introduced as a part of the system of the Exchequer from Normandy, shortly after the time of the Conquest. Whether the *festuca*, or rod with its runes, used as a pledge in contracts among the Franks, was its prototype, as has been suggested, it is difficult to say.² When their use was once established in this country, tallies were generally adopted in all matters of account, not only in the Exchequer, but among merchants and traders. At a date when the arts of reading and writing were confined to the clerks the use of tallies was a simple way of giving a receipt to an unlearned debtor; but after a time the system was found to be inconvenient, the foils of the tallies being frequently lost and damaged, so that by the end of the fourteenth century the practice had almost died out among merchants and others, but the Crown or the Government, ever conservative in such matters, continued to employ them until 1782 (23 Geo. III.), when they were abolished by Mr. Burke's Act; though their use lingered on till the death of the last of the Chamberlains³ of the Exchequer in 1826, and in an attempt to get rid of the great accumulation of them by burning in the stoves at Westminster, the flues were over-heated, and caused the fire which destroyed the Houses of Parliament on October 16th, 1834.

The Exchequer tallies were made of box, willow, or other hard wood. The early ones varied from less than three-and-a-half to eight or nine inches in length, but increased as time went on, till finally, in some instances,

¹ Read July 2nd, 1902.

² Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Engl. Law*, II, 183, etc.

³ The Chamberlains of the Exchequer had charge of the records of the receipts

and issues of the Exchequer. They also had the custody of all leagues and treaties and Domesday Book, and the standards of weights and measures.

they extended almost, if not quite, to five feet. In section they were roughly square and tapered slightly towards the top end. On the obverse side the principal numeral of the sum which the tally represented was cut in a bold notch by the *tallator* or cutter of the tallies. On the reverse side the subsidiary numerals of the sum were cut in notches, an interval being left between each denomination; the notches representing the greatest value being at the thicker end of the stick.¹ According to some early instructions a thousand² pounds was to be represented by a notch of the width of a man's palm on the obverse. A hundred pounds when the highest figure was cut alone on that side, of the width of a man's thumb. Twenty pounds was to be as broad as the little finger, and one pound as deep as would contain a barley corn. Shillings and pence were cut on the reverse side when with pounds, otherwise they were placed on either side. Half value was represented by an incomplete or half notch. When the necessary notches had been cut, and the amount written on the two opposite sides, the tally was split by the deputy-Chamberlain, the two pieces being called the tally and counter-tally or the tally and foil. It may here be remarked that the splitting of the tally was done in the following way. Near one end it was cut half through. A knife was then inserted at the other end, and the tally was split down to the cross cut. The two parts of the tally were therefore unequal in length. It was the shorter portion that was held in the Exchequer. For further details as to tallies and the usual mode of dealing with them, Lord Avebury's charming little book on *Coins and Currency* (1902) may be consulted with advantage, or the *Returns on Public Income and Expenditure*, Part II, July 1869, p. 339.

Without troubling ourselves to consider the fiscal policy of earlier Governments, which would be beyond the scope of this paper, it may be remarked that in the time of the Stuarts it had been the custom for those in authority to borrow money for stated periods, as a

¹ Pipe Roll Society Introd., p. 64, etc., and Madox, *Hist. of the Excheq.*, II, 258, etc.

² Pipe Roll Society, Introductory Volume, p. 65.

rule in anticipation of the revenue to be derived from some special tax, tallies being struck in favour of those who gave financial help. These tallies served the purpose of Treasury bills or promissory notes, and had this advantage, that they could hardly be forged. But after the closing of the Exchequer by Charles II. in 1672, and the suspension of the payment of either principal or interest on loans advanced to the public Treasury, a proceeding which ruined half the bankers, or goldsmiths as they were then called, in London, it had grown more and more difficult to raise money by such methods of borrowing. Again, engaged as we were in foreign wars, a standing army became essential, and the revenue which could be raised by taxation being insufficient to meet our expenditure, it was found necessary to adopt a new principle. That decided on as most generally applicable was the borrowing of money for some very distant date of repayment, with a certain definite interest per annum to be paid at fixed intervals; for the due payment of which, as well as for the ultimate discharge of the capital, the returns from certain taxes should be appropriated and a fund made. Hence these new loans came to be known as funding loans or funds, and they were the nucleus of the National Debt. A loan of a slightly different character, after the passing away of the old system, was the capital of the Bank of England, established in 1694, amounting to £1,200,000, and bearing interest at 8 per cent., which was in fact the price paid by the Bank to Government for its privileges.

Another expedient adopted for raising money at this time was the sale by the Crown for a capital sum of annuities, either for life or a limited number of years. The first Act establishing this system of borrowing was passed in 1692, and is entitled, "An Act for granting to their Majesties certain rates and duties of excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompenses and advantages in the said Act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of ten hundred thousand pounds towards carrying on the war against France."¹ By this Act persons were invited to

¹ Stat. 4 Will. and Mary, Cap. 3.

contribute towards the required sum, for which contributions they should receive annuities or dividends for the lives of themselves or their nominees, payable out of certain sums set apart for the purpose by the commissioners of the excise. The proposal does not appear to have met with a full measure of support, for in the following year another Act¹ was passed to supply the deficiency of the money raised by the former Act. The deficiency amounted to £118,506 5s. 10d., and as an inducement to supply this sum, annuities at the rate of 14 per cent. per annum were offered. Several other Acts were passed shortly afterwards for raising money by annuities. In 1694² persons were empowered to change their terms of lives into years, according to a rate set out, and after this date annuities for terms of years seem to have been preferred to those for terms of lives.

The particular circumstance which gave rise to the compilation of this paper was the opening, now more than a year ago, of a wooden box at Martin's Bank, No. 68, Lombard Street, the contents of which enable one to understand far more completely than heretofore all the business methods in connection with such terminable annuities. This box had certainly not been disturbed for nearly a hundred years, and the firm had no very precise record of its coming into their possession. On being opened it was found to contain about forty tallies, a few of them imperfect, together with documents proving that these tallies related to thirteen different annuities for 99 years, varying in amount from £6 to £50, the total being £340. These annuities were mostly of the years 1705 and 1706, but one dated from 1703, while two were of the year 1707. Between the years 1756 and 1759 inclusive the tallies had all come into the hands of a customer of the bank named Alexander Eustace, of Berkeley Square and Bath, who paid about £7,000 for them, or an average of 20½ years' purchase. He died in April, 1783; his man of business and afterwards his executor was George Bryans, by whom, apparently, the wooden box with its contents³ was

¹ Stat. 5 Will. and Mary, Cap. 5.

² Stat. 6 and 7 Will. III., Cap. 5.

³ The following two statements on

separate pieces of paper were found among the documents:—“£340 p^r ann^m
Exchequer assignments of Alex^r Eustace,

deposited. The annuities were collected by the firm and are shown in the ledgers of the day; when they lapsed the box remained and was forgotten.

With regard to Martin's Bank, without digressing too much, perhaps I may be permitted to say a few words. It is one of the oldest houses of business in the kingdom, connected by tradition with Matthew Shore, goldsmith, husband of Jane Shore of unfortunate memory: there seems to be no doubt that Sir Thomas Gresham, founder of the Royal Exchange, at one time occupied the site which is covered by No. 68, Lombard Street, and from his crest is derived the sign of the Grasshopper, now hanging over the door. From 1677 the records of the banking firm are continuous. In that year appeared what was practically the first guide-book of addresses of the residents in London, under the title of "The Little London Directory." At the end of the book is a supplementary list of the "Goldsmiths that keep running cashes," and among them are "Char(les) Duncomb, and Richard Kent, at the Grasshopper, in Lumbard Street." Of Kent little is known; Duncombe, who had begun his career as apprentice to Alderman Edward Backwell at the neighbouring house with the sign of the Unicorn in Lombard Street, became the purchaser of

"Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight."

He was knighted when Sheriff in 1699, was Lord Mayor in 1708-9, and is said to have been at the time of his death the richest commoner in England. Charles was for a time associated with his brother Valentine. But by 1687 or the following year the Duncombes appear to have severed their connection with the Grasshopper, and Richard Smyth or Smith, who had already been in their employment, succeeded to the business. Before his death, in 1699, he seems to have taken into partnership his clerk Andrew Stone, who married Anne Holbrooke, niece of Mr. Smyth. They had six children—among them was Andrew, who became in course of time Under Secretary of

delivered me by the Executors of Solth
Da Costa, the 20 dec^r 1768"; and,
"These Tallys belongs (*sic*) to Alex^r

Eustace Esq^r deposited with me in Ap^l
1768. G. B."

State, and Sub-Governor of the future King George III., and George, who became Protestant Primate of Ireland, and to whom, on account of his good looks, was given, as previously to Bishop Stillingfleet, the appellation of "the Beauty of Holiness." Mr. Smyth had also a clerk, named Thomas Martin,¹ who, after the death of his employer, went into partnership with Andrew Stone. Their names are associated in 1703, and from that time forward until 1852 the firm was mainly composed of the two families. On the death of Mr. George Stone, in 1861, the Stones became extinct in the male line. Of the Martins it is worth recording that from 1741 to 1885, when Tewkesbury was merged into a division of Gloucestershire, they represented that borough more or less continuously in Parliament, and Mr. R. B. Martin still represents the Droitwich division of Worcestershire. Those who now carry on the banking business are all descended from Martins, Stones, or both. These details concerning "The Grasshopper in Lombard Street" are chiefly derived from an interesting book under that title by the late John Biddulph Martin.

To return to our main subject. In the early part of the eighteenth century there were frequent Acts for the raising of money by the sale of annuities. These usually carried payment from the time of purchase, and were granted at varying prices, according to their date. Of such variations in price details will presently be shown. Upon payment of the purchase-money at the Receipt of the Exchequer at Westminster, each contributor had given to him one tally showing the amount of the purchase money paid, or if the payment was made by instalments, he received a tally for each instalment, and upon the completion of the payments he should receive an order signed by the Treasurer and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, or three of the Commissioners of the Treasury, for the payment of the annuity. The annuities were assignable, but the assign-

¹ The *London Gazette* of May, 1707, records that "some person hath (through mistake) taken out of the Exchequer two tallies, the one for the last payment of the annuities of 1706, for £20 a year to Mr. Andrew Stone, and the other for

the last payment of £10 a year to Mr. Thomas Martin. Whoever brings the same to Messrs. Stone and Martin, at the Grasshopper, in Lombard Street, shall have every reasonable satisfaction."

ment had to be entered in the books of the Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer.

Each annuity had a number by which it could be traced in the books of the Exchequer of Receipt or Office of Pells, which was at Westminster.

Besides the annuities carrying payment from the time of purchase, there were others of a more or less speculative kind. With these, payment did not begin until after the decease of one or two persons, often of the same family, nominees of some one who was acting for Government. In such cases the price was, of course, very much lower, thus among the documents found in the box at Martin's was one of this kind for £10 a year, the price of which was £40, while two others for £40 cost each £160.

I have not thought it necessary to bring the whole of the tallies and documents relating to them which were found at Martin's Bank, because they would have been inconveniently numerous, but I have brought typical specimens of tallies and documents.

First as to the tallies, on each is written the number of the annuity, the amount paid into the Exchequer for which the tally answered as a receipt, and above and below will be seen the notches representing such amount paid in accordance with the system already described. The counter-tallies, or foils of these tallies, had been retained at the Exchequer, and properly speaking the tallies themselves should have been sent there when the annuities died out.

The tallies from Martin's Bank exhibited here vary in length from a little over 16 to about 19 inches; they are of hazel, some of the bark being left on, and are seven in number, relating to three annuities, as follows:—

The tallies relating to annuity No. 3618, which dates from October 26th, 1706, may first be mentioned. The amount of the annuity was £6, the price £93, this being at the rate of $15\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase. Payment was made in four instalments, and therefore there should have been four tallies for £23 5s. 0*d.* each, but there are only two. Attached to them, however, is a manuscript note, yellow with age, to the following effect: "Wants 2 Tallies,

and for which Mr. Eustace was allowed on account, 26th October, 1759, £3 3s. 0*d*.”

A single tally records the annuity, numbered 3731, for £10, which was bought by Marmaduke Millington, February 21st, 1705, in one payment of £155 or 15½ years' purchase, as is shown on the tally by a broad and deep notch above for the £100, and below, two notches for £20 each, preceded by a half notch for £10, and followed with an interval by five less important notches for £1 each. Two illustrations of this tally are given, showing the notches and part of the writing, which is as follows. On the obverse, at the opposite end to the big notch is the number, 3731, and amount, namely, £10, and near the notch the following inscription:—“Michis xxi° die Febrii Anñ Ğ Ğ Anne iiij°.” On the side:—“Marmaduĉ Millington in pleñ clv^h p annuitat xⁱ. p anñ solvend p iiij^{xx}xix anñ a xxv° die Martii 1706 Angl.” Millington assigned this annuity, in 1717, to Samuel Aveline for £200. In May, 1720, before the collapse of the South Sea Bubble, when indeed their shares had almost reached the highest point, it was assigned for £300, but two years afterwards only produced £196 5s. 0*d*. The last assignment took place in 1754, when the amount paid was £247, or over 24 years' purchase. Among the people whose signatures appear on the documents connected with this tally is Moses Schomberg, notary public and “tabellion,” in 1754.

No. 3800, dating from 1706, relates to an annuity of £50, which cost Culverwell Needler £775 or 15½ years' purchase, paid in four instalments of £193 15s. 0*d*. each, represented by four tallies. I have brought them because they are rather a perfect set. There seems to have been no assignment of this annuity until the year 1758, when the price paid for it was £1,056 8s. 9*d*., or about 21 years' purchase. Illustrations are given of one of Needler's tallies. On these and the rest the writing is more or less similar. In this case, as each tally represents only a part of the full purchase-money, the words “*in parte*” are substituted for “*in pleno*,” and the dates vary according to the day on which the

particular tally was struck, either in February, March, August or October.

None of the orders for payment signed by the officers of the Exchequer, as provided by successive Acts relating to these annuities, appear to be extant with the papers accompanying the tallies, but the assignments are in a more or less complete condition. Of these I have brought the following specimens :—

Annuity No. 816 was of the speculative kind, to begin after the decease of two persons, the amount being £40, and the price originally paid £160. Here we find an indication that Government sometimes, if it had a little spare cash, invested in its own annuities, no doubt on the chance of making a profit at some future time. In this instance Sir Thomas Littleton,¹ Treasurer of the Navy, had been the nominal purchaser in April, 1705, for £160, of the annuity of £50 to begin after the decease of Hannah and Sarah Owen, daughters of Edward Owen, of Allhallows Barking, London, wharfinger, the term being for 99 years, to be computed from March 25th, 1704. He died, however, in 1710, and his widow and executrix, Dame Anne Littleton, transferred her rights in the said annuity to Charles Caesar, who became Treasurer of the Navy, but about whom little else appears to be known. He having been succeeded in that office by John Aislable in 1714, made a similar transfer to him in the following year.

It may be mentioned that John Aislable became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1718. In 1719 the South Sea Company proposed a scheme for paying off the National Debt. This was strenuously supported by Aislable, and, despite the strong opposition of the Governor and Directors of the Bank of England, who had a rival scheme, was accepted by the House of Commons. In April, 1720, the Bill received the Royal Assent, and South Sea Stock, which had been 175 in March, rose to 1,000 in August.

¹ Sir Thomas Littleton, born probably in 1647, was son of Sir Thomas Littleton, Bt., and of Anne, daughter of Edward Lord Littleton. He held the office of Speaker of the House of Commons from

1698 until the Dissolution in 1700. Macaulay describes him as "one of the ablest and most consistent Whigs in the House of Commons."



Fig. 1.

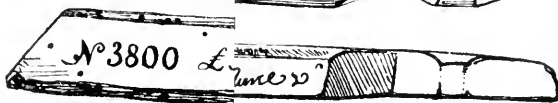


Fig. 2.

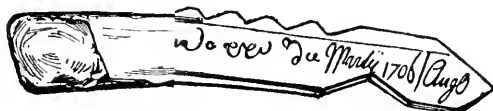


Fig. 3.

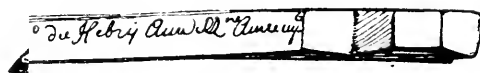


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

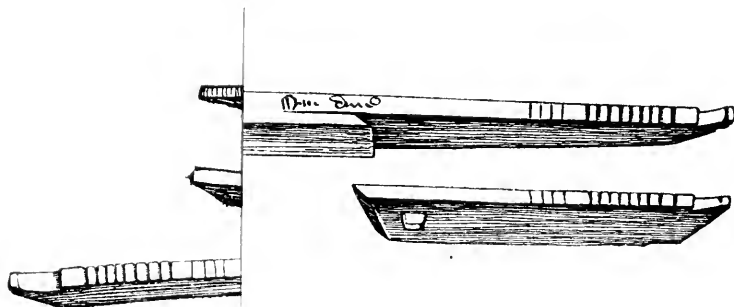


Fig. 7.

Then came the crash

“When not a guinea clinked on Martin’s boards,
And Atwell’s self was drained of all his boards.”¹

Shortly afterwards Aislaby resigned. In March, 1721, the report of the secret committee, with reference to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, was considered in the House of Commons. Aislaby made “a long submissive and pathetick speech in his own defence,” in spite of which it was agreed unanimously that he had been guilty of “most notorious, dangerous, and infamous corruption,” and that he had “encouraged and promoted the dangerous and destructive execution of the South Sea scheme with a view to his own exorbitant profit.” For this offence he was expelled the House of Commons and committed to the Tower. He was shortly afterwards released, and allowed to retire to his house in Yorkshire, where he lived the life of a country gentleman for many years.

In 1740 one nominee of annuity No. 816, namely, Sarah Owen, was still alive. In 1757 Henry Samuel Eyre assigned it to Alexander Enstace for £993 1s. 4*l.*, or rather less than 25 years’ purchase; and that year the latter assigned it to Mrs. Rebecca Cockburn, aged 50, for £546, or 13½ years’ purchase, with the condition that on her death it was to revert to him. She was also a customer of Martin’s Bank, and died about 1774.

The second set of documents relate to annuity No. 872, which, like the last, was for £40 on the decease of two persons, the price paid for it being also £160. This seems to have been also bought by Government, the nominal purchaser being Charles Fox,² described as “Paymaster of Her Majesty’s Forces abroad.” He transferred the annuity to the Hon. James Brydges, in 1706, on being succeeded by him in that office, and shortly afterwards Brydges transferred it to John Heylyn, citizen and

¹ Epistle to Snow, the goldsmith, by John Gay.

² He was the eldest son of Sir Stephen Fox by his first wife Elizabeth Whittle. Born in 1659, and named after his god-father King Charles II., before the age of twenty-one he received the appointment of joint Paymaster-General of the Forces, and in 1702 or

1703 became sole Paymaster. He was half-brother of Henry, first Lord Holland of the Fox family (who was no less than 46 years his junior), and, having married Elizabeth Carr Trollope, daughter and heiress of Sir William Trollope, Bt., died without issue in 1713.

saddler. On the transfer here shown are the signatures of the two officials. James Brydges, I need hardly say, was that notable person (son of Lord Chandos of Sudeley) who built Canons, near Edgware, became first Duke of Chandos, and made, and to a great extent lost, a huge fortune.

Among the transfers of various direct annuities that of No. 1458, for £25, is here exhibited. It is from John Mead to Philip Moreau, in 1712, the price paid being £400 or 20 years' purchase, the same as the original price at the time of striking the tally on November 16th, 1707.

Annuity No. 1405 dated from the year 1703, and was for £30, the annuity beginning on March 25th, 1704. As we learn from the will of Nathaniel Cowdery, an assignee, it was one of what were called the "£3,700 a week annuities," which were charged on certain payments out of £3,700 per week of the excise and other duties. The original price of this was £450, or 15 years' purchase, and in 1709 it was sold for £483 7s. 4*d.*, or a little over 16 years' purchase. In 1730 it was sold for £757 10s., or 25½ years' purchase. In 1754 it fetched almost the same price, namely, £755 13s. 5*d.*, while, in 1758, Mr. Eustace secured it for £645 11s. 6*d.*, or about 21½ years' purchase.

Annuity No. 457 was bought in 1705, being, like most of the others, secured by an Act passed in that year and entitled, "an Act for continuing an additional subsidy of tonnage and poundage and certain duties upon coal, culm,¹ and cinders, and additional duties of excise, and for settling and establishing a fund thereby, and by other ways and means, for payment of annuities to be sold for raising a further supply to her Majesty for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and six, and other uses therein mentioned." This Act authorized the raising, by means of annuities, payable for 99 years from March 25th, 1706, of any sum not exceeding two millions eight hundred and fifty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-one pounds, sixteen

¹ In the New English Dictionary culm is defined as soot, coal-dust, or refuse coal. Hence the word is some-

times applied to the slack of anthracite or stone-coal, or as a synonym of anthracite.

shillings and twopence, to be applied, partly for continuing the war against France, and the remainder to pay off arrears.

The original purchaser of the annuity was a certain Mr. G. Brooke Bridges, no doubt of the well-known Kentish family, who paid into the Exchequer in four equal instalments, each represented by its tally, the sum of £465 for a £30 annuity, the price being therefore $15\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase. In 1708 he sold it for £472 4s. 7*d.*, a very slight advance, to Mr. John Van Tarelincke, of Amsterdam. In 1736 appears the name of Mr. Theodore Jacobsen, as representative of members of this family. He was a merchant in Basinghall Street, descended from rich people residing near the Steelyard at the time of the great fire. He is said to have designed the Foundling Hospital, of which he became a governor, and was also a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries. He died in 1772, and was buried in the church of Allhallows the Great, Upper Thames Street, where there was a finely-carved pulpit, with sounding-board, presented by one of the same name in 1682, which is now in the church of St. Margaret, Lothbury.

No. 1101 is a £25 annuity, issued March 25th, 1707, "By virtue and in pursuance of an Act of Parliament entitled an Act for continuing the duties on low wines and spirits of the first extraction, and the duties payable by hawkers, and pedlars, and petty chapmen, and part of the duties on stamped vellum parchment and paper, and the late duties on sweets¹ and the one-third subsidy of tonnage and poundage, and for settling and establishing a fund thereby, and by the application of certain over-plus monies and otherwise for payment of annuities, to be sold for raising a further supply to her Majesty for the year 1707." Under this Act the Government raised £1,155,000, the yearly charge being £72,127 10s.

The price paid by John Hopkins for this annuity was £400, or 16 years' purchase, in four separate payments. In 1712, when sold to Philip Moreau, it fetched £343 15s., or about $13\frac{3}{4}$ years' purchase. In 1758 it produced

¹ The word "sweets" as here used refers to a decoction of honey and sugar for mixing with French wines.

£525, equivalent to 21 years' purchase, and came into the hands of Mr. Eustace for £455 6s. 10*d.*, or less than 18½ years' purchase.

One of the things which strike one in looking over the names of the persons who invested their money in these annuities is that a large proportion of them were of foreign origin, chiefly Dutch. It is clear then that in the earlier years of the eighteenth century foreigners had confidence in our Government, and that much English business was in their hands.

An interesting subject is the fluctuation in the prices of the various annuities, caused by the rise and fall of public credit. In this connection the following list will be found useful for reference. It is chiefly the work of Mr. Martin Holland, and gives the prices of annuities between 1703 and 1759, as shown in the documents at Martin's Bank, together with the public events which must have influenced credit.

I would begin by saying that among the Treasury Papers (Vol. XCVI, No. 23) there is a minute, dated 1705, relating to an annuity which had fallen into the hands of the Crown, to the effect that it must be sold at the rate of 15¾ years' purchase, at which annuities in possession are estimated.

In 1703 the price of one of our annuities was 15 years' purchase.

In 1705-6 it was 15½ years' purchase. Battle of Ramillies fought in 1706.

In 1707 it was 16 years' purchase. Union with Scotland.

In 1708 it was 15 years' purchase. Allies in Spain defeated by the Duke of Berwick.

In 1709 it was 16 years' purchase. Louis XIV. treats for peace.

In 1712 it was 16 years' purchase.

In 1717 it was 20 years' purchase. Triple Alliance between England, France, and Holland.

In 1718 it was 20 years' purchase. Byng destroys the Spanish fleet. Austria joins the Triple Alliance.

In 1720 it was 30 years' purchase. South Sea Company had undertaken to pay off the National Debt. They were issuing their shares against Government

stock and annuities, which rose as S. S. stock went to a premium.

In 1722 it was $19\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase. Jacobite conspiracy.

In 1730 it was $25\frac{1}{4}$ years' purchase. Peace with Spain.

In 1744 it was $23\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase. War between France and England.

In 1748 it was 20 years' purchase. The allies under the Duke of Cumberland had been defeated by Saxe in 1747.

In 1753 it was 25 years' purchase.

In 1754 it was	{	29 $\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase	} Change of min-	
		in July.		istry. Henry
		25 years' purchase		Pelham suc-
		in August.		ceeded by the
		19 years' purchase	Duke of New-	
		in September.	castle.	

In 1756 it was 21 years' purchase. War between France and England.

In 1757 rather less than 25 years' purchase. Pitt joins the Duke of Newcastle. Victory of Plassey and of Rossbach.

In 1758 it was $21\frac{1}{2}$ years' purchase.

In 1759 it was about $18\frac{1}{4}$ years' purchase. Mr. Eustace's purchases are that year completed by the acquisition of two annuities at a rather cheap rate. The fact that more than half their term of 99 years has now gone by would naturally tell on the price, although apparently it has not hitherto done so to any perceptible degree.

We have seen how the old annuities, with their system of tallies, eventually came to an end. It may be added that by the Life Annuity Act of 48 Geo. III., 1808, c. 142, it was enacted that every proprietor of either Consolidated or Reduced Three per cent. Stock should be at liberty to exchange such stock with the Commissioner for a Terminable Annuity, dependent either on the continuance of the life of a single nominee, or on the continuance of the lives of two persons and the life of the survivor. This was really a scheme for the reduction of the National Debt. Since then many Acts of Parliament have been passed relating to terminable annuities.

In conclusion, I would express my thanks to Mr. R. Martin-Holland and to Mr. William Page, F.S.A., for their help freely bestowed. The former some months ago read an interesting paper on the subject of Exchequer tallies, referring more particularly to those found at the Bank. This has not been printed, but he has been good enough to place it in my hands, and from it I have gleaned many facts.

APPENDIX.

In addition to the remarkable series of tallies from Martin's Bank, through the kindness of Lord Avebury, of Sir Charles Lawes Wittewronge, of Mr. C. Trice Martin, F.S.A., of the Record Office, and of Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, Dir.S.A., I am enabled to exhibit some most interesting tallies belonging to those gentlemen. To begin with those of Sir Charles Lawes Wittewronge. They were found quite recently, attached to a bailiff's roll of the Abbot of Westminster's Manor of Wheathampstead, in Hertfordshire. They are three in number and, apart from the fact of their being as perfect as if they had been struck last year, instead of more than 600 years ago, what gives them exceptional value is that each is accompanied by its counter-tally. Their length varies from 5 inches to 9½ inches, the counter-tallies being all 4 inches long. The wood of which they are composed is willow, and it will be observed that they are all dated 7 Edward I., that is 1279-80. The precise meaning of the notches on them is not quite clear. Illustrations of these tallies are here given.

TALLIES BELONGING TO SIR CHARLES LAWES WITTEWRONGE OF ROTHAMSTEAD.

The writing upon the tallies is as follows:—

Tally 1—

Whath^amsted.—Talt Roḡti Bernereve ibñ de frō tam dñiċ q^am deciaȝ de eġ liḡ Simoñ Boleheved s^vient ibñ post fñ Mich a^o vij^o.

[Translation.]

Whathamsted.—The tally of Robert Bernereve there of the corn as well of the demesne as of the tithes of the issues delivered to Simon Boleheved servant there after the feast of Michaelmas in the seventh year [of Edward I.].

Counter-tally—

Whath^amsted.—Talt Simon Boleved con^a. Roḡ Bernereve g^angiaf ibñ de frō de eġ tam dñiċ q^am deċ ab eo reċ post fñ Mich anno vij^o.

On the upper side.—Fñm dñiċ. Corn of the demesne.

„ „ lower „ Fñm deċ de Pyccotes. Corn of the tithe of Pyccottes.

[Translation.]

Whathamsted.—Tally of Simon Boleved against Robert Bernereve granger there of the corn from the issues as well of the demesne as of the tithes received by him after the feast of Michaelmas in the seventh year [of Edward I.].

Tally 2—

Whath^amsted.—Tali Roḡti Bernereve ibñ de piḡ de eḡ deciarz ibñ liḡ Simoñ Boleheved s²vient¹ ibñ post fñ Mich anno vij^o.

[Translation.]

Whathamsted.—Tally of Robert Bernereve there of the pease from the issues of the tithes there delivered to Simon Boleheved servant there after the feast of Michaelmas in the seventh year [of Edward I.].

Counter tally—

Whath^amsted.—Tali Simoñ Boleheved s²vient¹ ibñ con^a. Robñ Bernereve ibñ de piḡ de eḡ deciarz ab eo reḡ post fñ Mich a^o. vij^o.

[Translation.]

Whathamsted.—Tally of Simon Boleheved servant there against Robert Bernereve there of the pease from the issues of the tithes received by him after the feast of Michaelmas in the seventh year [of Edward I.].

Tally 3—

Whath^amsted.—Tali Roḡti Bernereve ibñ de drag¹ ⁊ aveñ de eḡ dñiḡ liḡ Simoñ Boleheved s²vient¹ ibñ post fñ Mich a^o. vij^o.

[Translation.]

Whathamsted.—Tally of Robert Bernereve there of drag¹ and oats from the issues of the demesne delivered to Simon Boleheved servant there after the feast of Michaelmas in the seventh year [of Edward I.].

Counter tally—

Whath^amsted.—Tali Simon Beleheved s²vient¹ ibñ con^a. Robñ Bernereve de drag¹ ⁊ aveñ de eḡ granḡ dñiḡ ab eo reḡ post fñ Mich a^o. vij^o.

On the upper side of tally and counter tally drag¹ = drag.

„ „ lower „ „ „ „ „ „ aveñ = oats.

[Translation.]

Whathamsted.—Tally of Simon Beleheved servant there against Robert Bernereve of drag and oats from the issues of the grange of the demesne received by him after the feast of Michaelmas in the seventh year [of Edward I.].

Mr. C. Trice Martin, F.S.A., has lent his facsimile of a very perfect little tally at the Record Office, which in the early part of the thirteenth century belonged to a Kentish Jew. Its length is only

¹ Drag is coarse corn.

3½ inches, and it has the following inscription:— 'Thomas Godesir debet Josey de Kant' Judeo, xxx.s. scilicet mediatatem ad festum Michaelis anni gratie m.e.c. vicesimo nono. et mediatatem ad festum Sancti Martini proximo sequens per cursum cirographi plegio Andrea de Miklegat'.

Kant' might stand either for Kantia or Kantuaria, it probably here means the latter. The tally has two notches, the larger meaning 20s, and the smaller 10s. This facsimile was No. 3 in the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition held at the Royal Albert Hall in 1887.

The two tallies lent by Lord Avebury, one of which is shown among our illustrations, are of a late type, resembling tallies figured in Chambers's *Book of Days*, Vol. II, p. 310. One of them is no less than 4 feet 2 inches in length, the other 4 feet, and they refer to annuities issued by the East India Company during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Each has 25 notches on the obverse. This is also the case with Mr. F. G. Hilton Price's tally, which, as may be seen in the illustration, is similar in shape and somewhat shorter; the inscription on it is almost illegible.

Early references to tallies in Exchequer documents and elsewhere are extremely common. A letter from Sir John Fastolf to John Paston, 5 Feb., 1456,¹ shows that they were then negotiable. Coming down to comparatively modern times which have more bearing on our main subject; in the diary of Samuel Pepys, who, as we all know, was in the full tide of official life, we find more than eighty references to tallies; here are a few of the most quaint and informing:—

May 12, 1665. "So by water to the Exchequer, and there up and down through all the offices to strike my tallys for £17,500, which methinks is so great a testimony of the goodness of God to me, that I, from a mean clerke there, should come to strike tallys myself for that sum, and in the authority that I do now, is a very stupendous mercy to me."

May 19, 1665. "To the Exchequer, and there got my tallys for £17,500, the first payment I ever had out of the Exchequer, and at the Legg spent 14s upon my old acquaintance, some of them the clerks, and away home with my tallys in a coach, fearful every step of having one fall out or snatched from me."

June 18, 1666. "To Lumbard Streete to borrow a little money upon a tally, but cannot. Thence to the Exchequer, and there after much wrangling, got consent that I should have a great tally broken into little ones."

He describes fully what he saw of the Great Fire on Sept. 2, 1666. Returning home, and the "newes coming every moment of the growth of the fire," he tells us how "we were forced to begin to pack up our owne goods and prepare for their removal—and got my bags of gold into my office ready to carry away, and my chief papers of accounts also there, and my tallys into a box by themselves."

Nov. 25, 1666. "My Lord Treasurer declared that the King had nothing to give till the Parliament did give him some money. So the King did of himself bid me to declare to all that would take our tallys for payment, that he should, soon as the Parliaments money do come in, take back their tallys and give them money."

¹ The Paston Letters, edited by James Gairdner, 1896, Vol. I, p. 374.

Under the date Nov. 26, 1668, Pepys tells us of his trouble at the loss by his retainer and faithful friend W. Hewer of a tally for £1,000, which had on that day been received from the Commissioners of Excise. However, on the 28th, when he arrived at his office, he heard to his "great content," that a porter had found the tally in Holborn and brought it; for which act of honesty he was rewarded with twenty shillings.

An extract from a letter written by Sir Samuel Garth, quoted in Johnson's Dictionary, is worthy of insertion, as Martin's Bank opens into Change Alley, the scene of the wildest speculation during the South Sea Bubble. It runs thus:—

"The only Talents in esteem at present are those in Exchange Alley. One tally is worth a grove of bays."

The following notes relate to subsidiary forms of tally or to vouchers serving a similar purpose.

Indentures or deeds under seal, entered into between two or more parties with mutual covenants, were formerly indented, that is toothed or cut in a wavy line corresponding with that on other copies of the deeds; but this is now no longer essential.

In the Horniman Museum at Forest Hill are specimens of hop tallies, as used at or near Canterbury, Kent, in 1899, and at Tenbury, Herefordshire. These are flat pieces of wood varying in length from 12 to 13½ inches, with notches cut in them. There is also a French baker's tally, a natural bough or twig with notches, length 11½ inches. In Chambers's *Book of Days*, Vol. II, p. 310, we are told that "in Scotland till the early days of the editor, it was customary for the baker's lad to bring the *Nick-sticks* with his bread, a notch being made for each loaf he left. While the notches on his stick corresponded with those on the one left with the family, both parties were satisfied that the account was justly kept." Other forms of tally of a similar kind may be named, such as Worcestershire wooden hop tallies and Sussex leaden tallies.

In Hogarth's well-known picture, a milkmaid brandishes her tally in the face of the "Distrest Poet."

Eighteenth century representations of cricket matches almost invariably show the scorers seated in the foreground, each notching the runs on a short stick; and in the earliest rules of the game known to me, of which I have a copy dated 1744, the batsmen are spoken of as running a notch. The term is still quite common among country folks and in semi-humorous descriptions of cricket.

A grim application of the system of tallies was, it would seem, once in vogue among our present allies, the Japanese. Attached to one side of the scabbard of the Japanese sword is a skewer-like implement called a "Kogai," now a mere survival. The origin of this curious appendage has been often discussed. The accepted opinion is that in mediæval times one of its uses was as follows: When an important man was slain in battle after a hand to hand combat, his head was cut off by the victor, who, if unable to carry it away with him, stuck into it the Kogai of his sword, which bore his badge; so that after the fighting was over he might claim the head as a proof of his valour, with any advantages accompanying its possession.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

Wednesday, July 2nd, 1902.

EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. PHILIP NORMAN, Treas.S.A., read a paper on "Exchequer Annuity Tallies," exhibiting a number of specimens of wooden tallies, found lately in a box at Martin's Bank, and elsewhere. The paper is printed at p. 288.

In the discussion which followed, Messrs. R. GARRAWAY RICE, T. T. GREG, E. GREEN, and Rev. S. F. CRESWELL took part. Other forms of tallies were referred to, such as those of lead used among hop-pickers in the south-eastern counties, having on them the initials of the employers; those of wood with notches, used in Worcestershire as hop-tallies; and similar specimens used in the case of impounded animals.

Professor BUNNELL LEWIS, F.S.A., read a paper on "The Roman Arches at Susa and Aosta," exhibiting in illustration of his remarks a number of photographs of these and similar subjects.

NOTE.—In the report of Proceedings at the Meeting held on May 7th, 1902 (LIX, 206), an exhibition of clocks of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Mr. Edmund James was attributed to Mr. Edward James.

THE BENEDICTINE NUNNERY OF LITTLE MARLOW.

By C. R. PEERS, M.A., F.S.A.¹

The Nunnery of Little or Minchin Marlow, *Prioratus de fontibus de Merlaue*, may be said to have no history. It must always have been a small and not a wealthy house; its founder and the date of its foundation are both uncertain, and it never, probably, came into public notice or attracted the favour of any great family during the course of its existence. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* its revenues stand at £37 6s. 11*d.* gross and £23 3s. 7½*d.* net.

Dugdale (*Mon. Ang.*, IV. 419, *ed.* Caley, 1823), gives a list of the few documentary notices of the house; the earliest of these are of the thirteenth century. In the Close Roll, 13 Hen. III., *m.* 10 (1228–9) is the following order:

“Mandatum est Jordano forestario et Willelmo de Coigner quod assumptis secum viridariis et aliis probis et legalibus hominibus de balliva sua, assignent monialibus de Merlaue duas acras terre in loco competenti in foresta nostra pertinente ad manerium de Cokham, ad domos in eis construendas ad animalia et peccora sua in eis receptanda.”

This grant is confirmed, and its execution ordered without delay, in the Roll for the next year, 14 Hen. III., *m.* 11.

In the Register of Missenden Abbey, written 1331 (MS. Harl. 3688), there is entered a copy of a deed relating to Little Marlow, at f. 101. It is an obligation from A., prioress *de fontibus de Merlaue*, to pay four shillings a year,

“p grava q̃ appellat² ludeput juxta fossatū terr’ eccie de hedesor’,” and for an acre and a half of land lying next the land of the church of the same town towards Woburn, together with a certain angle lying next the road.

Tanner (*Not. Mon.*, 29, *ed.* 1744) gives a reference from

¹ Read December 3rd, 1902.

the episcopal registers of Lincoln, of the year 1217, mentioning the nuns of Marlow. Leland (*Collect.*, I. 90) says that the founder was Geoffrey Lord Spencer, and gives a passing reference to the house in his *Itinerary* (II. 6); "Little Marlaw, wher the Priorie of Nunnes was."

Tanner (*op. cit.*) quotes from the Episcopal Registers of Lincoln to the effect that in 1244 application for leave to elect a head of the house was made to the Countess of Hertford and Gloucester and Sir Ralph Danvers. This would suggest that they were, whether by grant or inheritance, representatives of the original founder. And in the list of permanent charges on the income of the Nunnery given in *Valor Ecclesiasticus* is this entry:

"Elimosina distribut' p aia Dñi Regis nunc fundatoris monasterii p^odiçi div^os' pauperibz p annum vj viij "

which would imply that the founder's rights were at the time vested in the King.

In passing, it may be of interest to note the use of the word founder at this time, to denote the person who by descent or otherwise was the representative of the original founder of a monastic house.

Sir Thomas West, Lord Lawarr, wrote to Cromwell thus (MS. Cott. Cleop. E. iv, f. 280): "I have a power howse callyd Boxgrave . . . wherof I am ffounder." He was the owner of Halnaker House, formerly belonging to the family of Haye, one of whom, Robert de Haye, founded Boxgrove Priory in the reign of Henry I.

Sir Philip Edgecumbe to Cromwell (MS. Cott. Cleop. E. iv, f. 313):

"But trew hyt ys, that I am by the kyngge ffather by hys graunt to my poar ffather made to hym and hys issue male, ffounder of the pryory of Tottenes and the nunnry off Cornworthye in Devonsshyr."

Richard Strete to Cromwell (MS. Cott. Cleop. E. iv, f. 283):

"The first founder ther [Calwich in Staffordshire] was Nich. Gresley, in whose title now claymyth Mr. Longford (as men here report)."

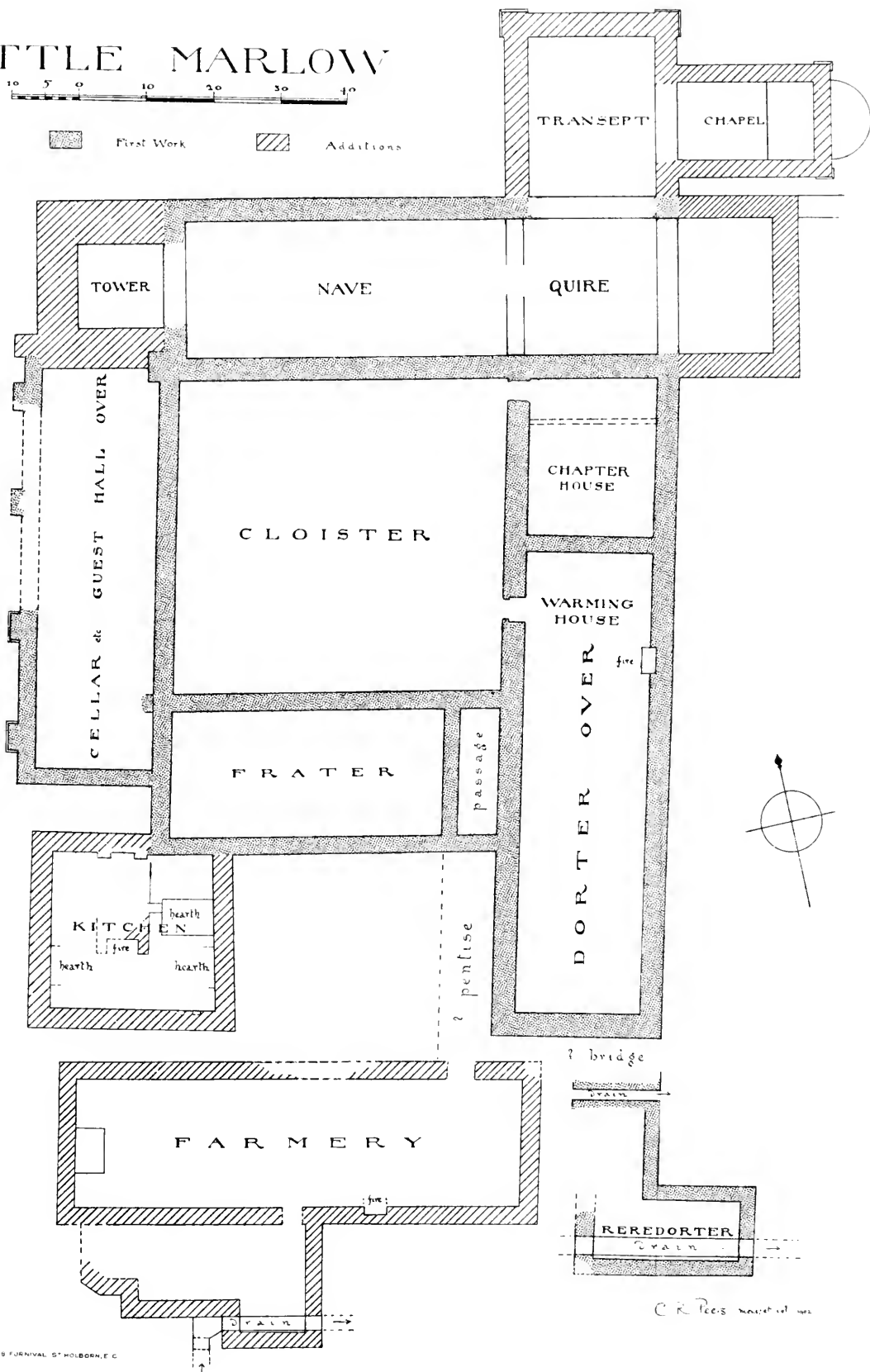
Humphrey Stafford to Cromwell (MS. Cott. Cleop. E. iv, f. 242):

"a house of chanous yn Somersett shiere called Worspyng, where my seyð ffather is ffounder therof."

LITTLE MARLOW



Additions



Dugdale (*Mon. Ang.*, IV. 419, *ed.* Caley, 1823) quotes a passage from Browne Willis mentioning three shields in the windows of the "hall."

- "i. Gules a lion passant guardant langued or, over all a bend of the second. Probably King John when Earl of Gloucester.
- "ii. Azure two wings conjoined tenné by a silk twist with tassels; over all a fesse.
- "iii. Quarterly, 1 and 4 Argent a bear saliant proper muzzled or; 2 and 3 Gules three pikes argent in fesse (Lucy); Crest, a bear's head on a wreath compé tenné, muzzled or."

This passage does not occur in the 1719 edition of Willis's *History of Abbies*,¹ pp. 28-9. And in any case there is no direct evidence that these arms refer to the founder or founders of the house.

On the whole, Tanner's suggestion that the foundation of the house was due to the de Clare family seems the most likely. The Countess of Hertford and Gloucester in 1224, above mentioned, would be the wife of Richard de Clare, second Earl of Hertford and Gloucester, who succeeded his father in 1230, and died 1262. The de Clares were at the time lords of the manors of Little Marlow and Great Missenden, which may have something to do with the connection between the two houses. See for this Lipscomb's *History of Buckinghamshire*, (1847), where, however, the genealogies given are very confused. It may be noted that the de Clare arms occur on one of the glazed tiles found on the site of the Priory.

The nunnery, being a small house, below the value of £200 a year, was suppressed on June 23, 1536, the Prioress at the time being Margaret Vernon.

The Commissioners' report on the state of the house at the time is as follows:—

"Clere value £23 3s. 7d. per annum.

"Nunns two, both desyren capacities. Servants two, women servants two, and one priest. Bells, lead, etc. worth by estimation £4 10s. 8d. The house in good estate. The value of the goods £17 0s. 2d. Debts, none. Woods, eight acres, six above twenty years' growth."

At the previous preliminary visitation, made in the autumn of 1535 or shortly after, the Commissioners had prepared the way for the final surrender of the house

¹ Vol. II. of his book, usually quoted as *Mitred Abbies*, though this title belongs to Vol. I. only.

by "discharging" three out of the four nuns, leaving only Margaret Vernon, the Prioress, and one "pore madyn" to keep her company. Her letter to Cromwell on the subject is a pathetic instance of the efficacy of the Commissioners' proceedings.

MS. Cott. Cleop. E. iv, f. 71.

"After all dew cōmendacyous had unto yowre good maystershyps w^t my most unble thankes for the greate cost mayd on me and my pore madyn at my last beyng w^t yowre maystershyps / farthermore plesyth yt yow to understonde that yowre vysytors hath bene here of late who hath dyscharged iij of my systers / the one ys dame Katheryn the other ij is the yonge women that were last professyd whyche yt (*sic*) not a lyttyll to my dyscomforte / nevertheless I must be cōtent w^t the kynges plesure / but now as towchinge my nowne parte I most numbly besече yow to be so specyall good mayster unto me yowre poore bedewoman as to geve me yowre best advertysment and counsyle what waye shalbe best for me to take seyng there shalbe none left here but my selfe and this pore madyn / ād yf yt wyll please yowre goodnes to take thys pore howse Into yow(re) owne hondes ether for yowre selfe or for my nowne [torn] yowre sounce / I would beglad w^t all my hart to geve yt into yowre maystershypes hondes w^t that ye wyll comande me to do therin / Trustyng and nothyng dowptyng in yowre goodnes that ye wyll so provyd for us that we shall have syche onest lyvyng that we shall not be drevyn be necessity nether to begge nor to fall to no other uncōvenyence / and thus I offer my sylfe and all myne unto yowre most hygh and prudent wysdome / as unto hym that ys my onely Refuge and comfort in thys World besechyng god of hys goodnes to put in yow hys holy sprete that ye maye do allthyng to hys lawde and glory /

"by yowre owne assured bedewoman

"Margaret Vernon.

"To the Ryght onurabyll and
hyr most specyall good mayster
mayster secretory unto the
kynges most nobyll grace."

Stowe's account of the usual procedure at such visitations is worth giving, as a commentary on Margaret Vernon's letter. The visitors, he says, "put forth all religious persons that would goe, and all that were under the age of foure and twentie yeares, and after closed up the residue that would remeine, so that they shuld not come out of their places, and took order that no man shuld come to the houses of women, nor women to the houses of men, but onely to heare their service in the churches; all religious men that departed, the abbot or prior to give them for their habite a priestes gowne,

and forty shillings of money; the nuns to have such apparell as secular women weare, and to go wher thei wold."

Margaret Vernon accepted the inevitable with the best grace she could, and gained the approval of the "visitor." William Cavendish, by whom the house was dissolved, as is shown by his letter of Sep. 23, 1536, to Cromwell. P.R.O. State Papers, H. VIII. 1536, 1188.

"Right worshipfull Sir my duetie as yo^r humble s^v^aunte premysed Thes shalbe to advertyse you that we have ben at the priorye of litle Marlowe and their have dissolved the same accordyng to the kinge cōmaundement to us directed / and have also discharged my lady and the other religious psons of the said house which I ensuer you takith the matier verey well lyke a wyse woman and haith made delyverye of every thing whiche we made o^r Inventarye of at o^r first repayer thether / and also of many other thyngē more which was nat conteyned in o^r said inventarye w^t such circūspectōn and diligens that the kinge highnes (as fare as we cane learne or appceyve) shall nat be the loser of one penny belongyng to the forsaied pōrye Sir hir hole trust and confidence ys in yo^r maistershipp that you wilbe so good m^r unto her to helpe that she myght have some reasonable pencōn, or elce some other lyvyng as to you shalbe thought good accordyng to her demyryttē / She haith no cause of dispacōn after my judgement / and forasmoche as I pceyve her onlie trust and effyaunce is in yo^r maistership, and also haith none other socower ayde or refuge but only to yo^r maistershipp / I shall therfore most humblie bysiche yo^r maistershipp (as fare as y^t may become one beyng yo^r poore s^v^u^t) to be good unto her and for her to provyde whan oportunitie shall geve place ether some honest yerelye pencōn or elce thadvncement and preferment of the gov^oⁿnce of some other hono^rable howse of her religion / ffor in my opynyōn she is a psonage right mete apte and able to have the gov^oⁿnce of the same as well for her yeres as for her discrecōn / as knowith the holy Trynytie who sende yo^r maistershipp longe lyf / good helth w^t moche increase of wo^rshipp. ffrom lytle Marlow the xxiiijth daye of June.

"Yo^r most bounden s^v^aunte

"Willm Cavendyssh.

"To my right wo^rshipfull and
singul^r good maister m^r
Thom^s Crumwell chief
Secretorye to the kinge
highnes geve this."

The Prioress had not long to wait for the reward of her "circūspectōn and diligens." William Cavendish was in the right when he judged that she had "no cause of dispacōn." Within three months of her dismissal from Little Marlow, she was appointed abbess of Malling, in succession to Elizabeth Rede, resigned.

There exists a letter of Sep. 24, 1536, from Sir Thomas Willughby, brother-in-law of Elizabeth Rede, to Cromwell, desiring from him a letter to the Abbess of Malling that the late Abbess, his sister-in-law, may have the lodging in the monastery which her predecessors that have likewise resigned have had, also that she may have the plate which her father (Sir Robert Rede, chief justice of the Common Pleas, *ob.* 1510) delivered to her "to occupy in her chamber." Margaret Vernon did not long enjoy her promotion, as Malling Abbey was suppressed in 1538; but her further history does not fall within the limits of this paper.

The lands and possessions of the Nunnery of Little Marlow were granted in 29 H. VIII. to Henry's re-foundation of Bisham or Bustlesham Abbey, but after the suppression of that house were given (32 H. VIII.) to John Tytley and Elizabeth Restwold.

The grantees do not appear to have lived on the site, or attempted to convert the Conventual buildings into a residence for themselves. The buildings were small and simple, as will be shown, and were probably used as farm buildings, and quarries for farm buildings, from the sixteenth century onwards. The gradual process of destruction may be to some extent traced from the following notices:

1719. (Browne Willis. *Hist. of Abbies* (Vol. II.), pp. 28-9.)

"Great part of this convent is still standing, tho' in Ruins. The Tower stood at one corner, sepearte from the rest of the Office. The church or chapel was a small tyled Building ceiled at the top. Against the east wall are still to be seen some Painting (*sic*) of the Virgin Mary; on each side her was a saint."

1797. (Langley. *History of the Antiquities of the Hundred of Desborough*, p. 318.)

"At present there are scarce any remains of the convent. Part of the wall of the tower is standing, but the other ruins have been taken down, and a farmhouse built with the materials."

1801. (*The Beauties of England and Wales*, I. 382.)

"Scarcely any part of the convent is now standing, the principal materials having been used in the construction of a farmhouse."

1813. (Lysons. *Magna Britannia*, I. pt. iii, 601.)

"The hall, which was 60 feet in length, was pulled down in 1740. There are now no remains of the conventual buildings."

1823. (Dugdale. *Mon. Ang.*, IV. 419, *ed.* Caley.)

A quotation from Browne Willis, that the hall was twenty yards long and five wide, and had in the windows the arms given above. This statement does not occur in the 1719 edition of Browne Willis.

Neither Camden nor Grose make any mention of the site.

At the present time a small house with outbuildings, garden, an orchard, and a meadow occupies the place of the monastic buildings, bounded on all sides by water-courses, which are filled by the strong springs which rise to the east and west of the site of the nunnery, and to which it owed its name "*de Fontibus de Merlawe*," being thus a humble namesake of the great Cistercian Abbey of Fountains in Yorkshire.

The site does not at the first seem a well-chosen one, being on the level marshy land by the bank of the Thames, and apparently well within the reach of the periodical floods which make some of the less fortunately placed inhabitants of Bourne End realize for a short time what must have been the mode of life of their remote predecessors who lived in pile dwellings along the Thames valley. But Mr. Vaughan Williams, the present owner of the monastic site, tells me that the slight sandy rise on which it is placed makes it secure from even the highest floods, and its position was no doubt determined by the plentiful supply of pure water from the springs before mentioned, a prime necessity in a monastic house.

Until the beginning of the present year, the only indication of the site of the buildings of the nunnery was a piece of rough stone walling, which has since proved to be the north-east angle of the frater, forming part of a summer-house to the east of the comparatively modern dwelling-house which now goes by the name of the Abbey.

But in the course of making a roadway through part of the orchard, in the north-east part of the "Abbey" grounds, Mr. Vaughan Williams came upon the lower

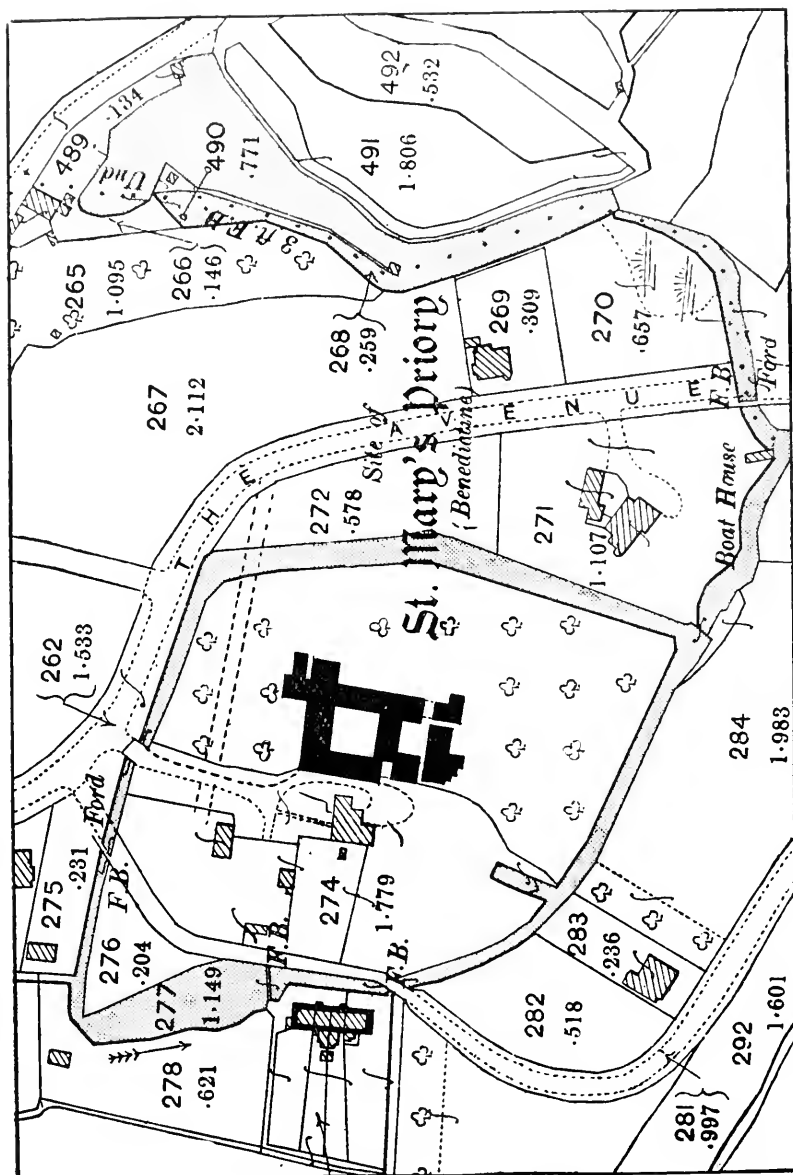


FIG. 1.—SITE PLAN, LITTLE MARLOW NUNNERY.
Scale 1"=100'. (From Ordnance Survey.)

courses of several walls, built of flint and chalk, with angles formed chiefly of thin red roofing-tiles, which were at once seen to be part of the monastic buildings. Through my friend Mr. Goolden I came to hear of the discovery, and eventually it fell to my lot to superintend, as far as weekly visits to the site permitted, a complete excavation of the remains of the nunnery, carried on most energetically and efficiently by Mr. Vaughan Williams.

The result of the work has been the recovery of the plan of the whole establishment, with the possible exception of some detached outbuildings. This plan forms Plate I of the present description, and is of considerable interest from the fact that although the plans of some of the larger Benedictine houses have been already measured and published, there does not at present exist any very detailed account of a small nunnery such as this. It is probable that in its most prosperous days the house had not as many as twenty inmates—in 1535 we know that it had only five, though the house was in good order, and there were no debts—and its plan may be taken as showing the irreducible minimum of accommodation needed in one of the smallest of Benedictine monasteries.

The buildings consist of an aisleless church to the north of the cloister, with a north transept and chapel, and a western tower; a chapter-house, parlour (?), warming-house, and dorter to the east of the cloister, with rere-dorter south of the dorter; a frater on the south, with kitchen adjoining its south-west angle; and the cellar with a hall and probably other accommodation for guests on the west. South of the frater, and forming as it were the south side of a second cloister, lie the farmery buildings. The inclusive measurements of the whole group are about 203 feet north to south by 120 east to west.

In no place, except, as has already been said, at the north-east angle of the frater, are the walls standing more than six inches above floor level, and in many places little beyond the footings exists. No traces remain of doorways from the church to the cloister, or from the cloister to the frater, and indeed the only evidences of

anything of the sort beside those in the farmery buildings are to be found in two openings in the east wall of the cloister, one very ill defined, leading into what I think must be considered the vestibule to the chapter-house, the other, better preserved, to the warming-house under the dorter.

It is evident from what is left that all the buildings were of the simplest kind. And the difficulty in obtaining anything better than chalk for quoins and window dressings must have been another obstacle. A little freestone remains, but evidently the question of ashlar for quoins was a difficulty, as the chalk stood badly when exposed to the weather, and the angles which remain sufficiently entire to show their construction are chiefly formed with thin red roofing tiles laid flat,¹ bonded to the flint rubble of which the walls are composed. No part of the building was vaulted, and, though this cannot be definitely stated, I think that none of the walls had plinths. With so little masonry remaining, it is a matter of some difficulty to fix accurately the dates of building of the different parts of the nunnery, but for several reasons it is probable that the earliest work, which on the accompanying plan is distinguished from subsequent additions, must be assigned to the opening years of the thirteenth century. So clean a sweep has been made of the building material on the site that the only architectural features found in the course of the excavations were some stones from the jambs of windows, one stone of a label, and a few pieces of Purbeck marble shafts; all of which may date from 1220 or thereabout. Even these were preserved only by having been used up in the foundations of later work.

In taking a more detailed examination of the buildings, the church (*oratorium*) naturally claims attention in the first place. It lies to the north of the claustral buildings, and as first built was an aisleless rectangle 20 feet 6 inches wide from wall to wall internally, the walls being of flint rubble, 3 feet 6 inches thick. The position of the original east end is not quite clear. A

¹ Similar tiles are used in the external plinths at Little Marlow Church.

strong flint foundation runs north and south across the church on the line of the east wall of the dormer range, which may be either a sleeper wall marking a structural division, or the foundation of the first east wall. It belongs, I think, to the first work, but everything eastward of it is a re-building in chalk ashlar of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, on foundations largely composed of the chalk jambs of thirteenth century windows, probably lancets, of two plain chamfered orders with a reveal for a wooden frame, which must have belonged to the east part of the original church. As all walls at this corner of the buildings were destroyed soon after their discovery, in the process of making a road across the site, it was possible to ascertain that no foundations of an earlier date than the re-building remained here. It is, however, unlikely that the east wall of the church was in a line with the east wall of the dormer range, and the position of the added north transept gives some support to this view. The transept measured internally 24 feet by 19 feet, with walls 3 feet 6 inches thick, having broad clasping buttresses of shallow projection at its north-west and north-east angles. On the east was a chapel 24 feet by 11 feet 9 inches wide, with walls only 2 feet 3 inches thick. All salient angles in chapel and transepts had plain weathered plinths of freestone, the quoins being for the most part of thin red tiles.¹ The walling was of coursed rubble of flint and chalk. In the chapel the step of the altar platform remained, and a small piece of glazed tile pavement. The whole church, and probably most of the other buildings of the nunnery, were paved with these tiles, a great number of which were found in the course of the excavations.

The date of the building of the transept and chapel may be placed about 1250; the clasping buttresses and character of the masonry make a later date unlikely; and the finding of one stone of a moulded chalk label of c. 1220 in the foundations of the north wall gives a limit in the other direction.

¹ In the aisles and south chapel of the parish church of Little Marlow similar tiles are used for the external plinths.

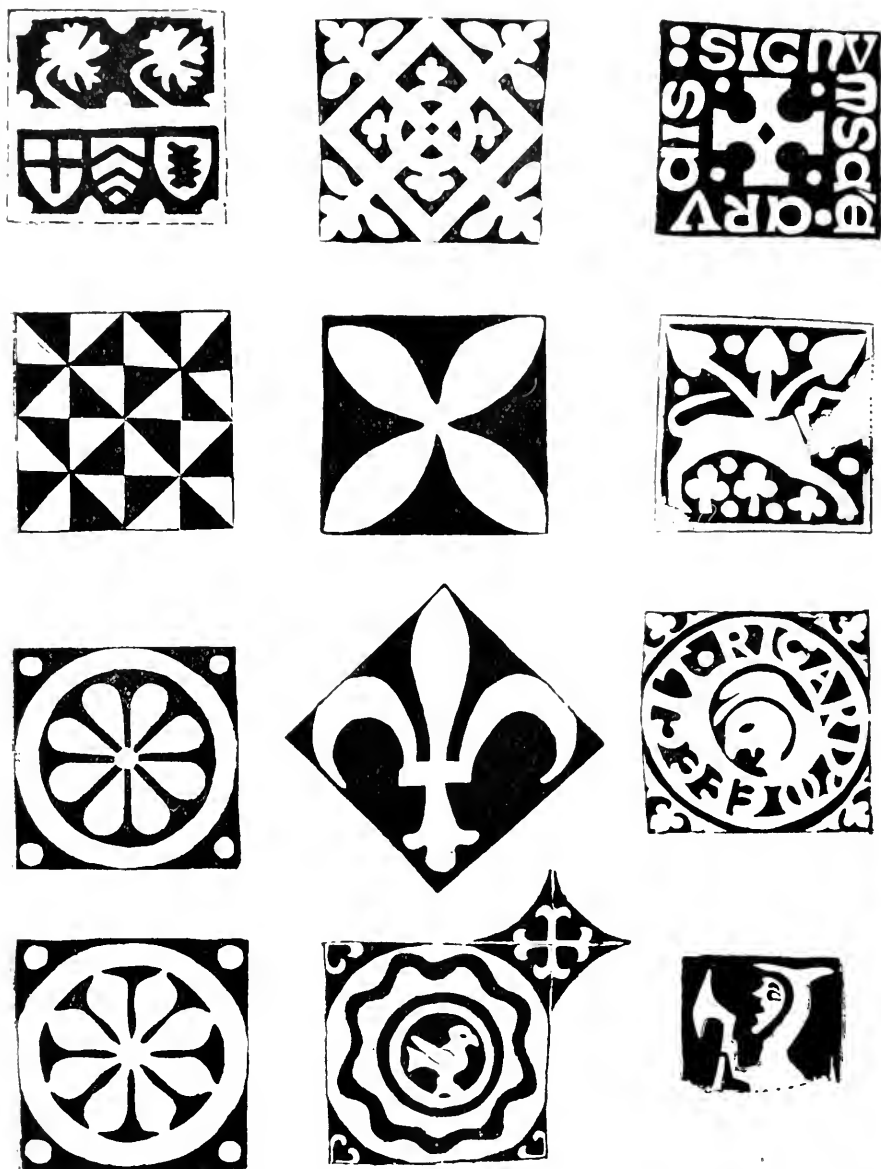


FIG. 2.—PAVING TILES FOUND AT LITTLE MARLOW NUNNERY, 1902.
SINGLE-TILE PATTERNS. (Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ full size.)

On the south side of the altar platform at the east end of the chapel a burial was found; the body had been placed in a wooden coffin, of which the nails were the only remaining traces. Both transept and chapel have been destroyed since their discovery by the making of the road above-mentioned.

Against the outside of the east wall of the chapel a semi-circular platform of broken tiles and mortar rubbish was found, evidently of comparatively modern date. In it were several pieces of chalk ashlar from the destroyed thirteenth century buildings.

Of ritual arrangements in the church no remains exist, with the exception of a shallow foundation across the nave in a line with the west wall of the north transept, which probably marks the position of the *pulpitum*, and consequently the western limit of the quire.

At the west end of the church are massive foundations 6 feet wide of a tower 12 feet 6 inches square inside, evidently an addition to the original nave. All this part of the church is destroyed below the floor level, and no evidence remains as to whether there was a west doorway, or whether the entrance to the church was from the north, as at Romsey. It is not clear whether the first church had a tower; on the whole, the probabilities are that it had not.

The irregular setting out of the cloister and surrounding buildings is very noticeable, and may have been due to the marshy nature of the site, which in the thirteenth century was not so well drained as it is now, and consequently afforded a smaller area for the erection of buildings than is at present the case.

No traces of the inner walls or paving of the cloister were to be found.

The eastern range of the claustral buildings is 100 feet long over all, with walls 3 feet 6 inches thick, and was, at any rate as regards its southern part, two stories in height.

At the northern end, divided from the church by a passage 6 feet wide, is the chapter-house (*capitulum*), which is 17 feet long by 18 feet 10 inches wide. There is no sign of any entrance to it from the cloister on the west.

and it seems probable that the passage just mentioned served the double purpose of inner parlour and chapter-house vestibule. This passage has a somewhat ill-defined doorway at its west end, and retains at the east a good part of its flooring of glazed tiles. It was separated from the chapter-house by a 6-inch wooden partition, traces of which remain. Whether it also had a doorway at its eastern end, and served as a passage to a cemetery round the east end of the church, is not clear. The tile pavement is perhaps hardly such as would be placed in a passage way open at both ends, and shows little signs of the wear and tear which would have taken place in such a case. The flooring of the chapter-house has wholly disappeared.

The rest of the eastern range is taken up by one long chamber 69 feet 9 inches by 18 feet 10 inches, divided from the chapter-house by a wall 2 feet 6 inches thick, and entered from the cloister by a doorway in its northern half. Nearly opposite the doorway, in the east wall, is a fireplace with tiled hearth, and a (possibly modern) brick curb, and this end of the room was most probably used as the warming-house (*calefactorium*). It is likely that the room was divided up into one or more chambers by partitions, but too little of the building is left to make it possible to fix their positions. The doorway to the warming-house seems to have been the only entrance. The precise use of the long spaces which are always to be found on the ground floor of the dormer range of a monastic house is by no means clear; to call them day rooms is a general but not an entirely convincing solution of the difficulty. They were a natural result of the customary arrangement of the dormer on the first floor, and in many cases may have had no special use assigned to them.

Nothing can be said of the length of the dormer (*dormitorium*), which occupied the first floor of this range of buildings, as to whether it extended over the chapter-house or not, and how it was reached from church or cloister.

South of the dormer, but apparently not connected with it on the ground level, is the rere-dormer (*necessarium*), L-shaped in plan, the northern arm forming the passage

from the dorter, the southern containing the latrines, which have a drain 2 feet 6 inches wide, with a hard gravel bottom, and arched over with tile arches where it runs through the east and west walls of the building; otherwise it was open, the seats being doubtless carried over it on wooden joists. When found it was filled in with mortar rubbish and glazed paving tiles from the destroyed buildings.

The northern end of this building, which formed the approach from the dorter, has been completely destroyed, but the south wall of the dorter is sufficiently preserved to show that no walls have been bonded to it at the ground level, and it seems likely that the communication between the two buildings was by a bridge on the first floor. A narrow drain 1 feet 6 inches wide runs parallel to the south wall of the dorter across the breadth of the rere-dorter passage; its west end was blocked up when the farmery was built, and no direct evidence as to its use is now obtainable. It may have served as an overflow to the rere-dorter drain, by a channel along its west wall, or it may have been intended to drain the open space south of the frater.

The south side of the cloister is taken up by the passage to the farmery, and the frater (*refectorium*).

The latter stood east and west, as usual in a Benedictine house, and being of one storey only, had thinner walls than those of the eastern or western ranges (2 feet 6 inches as against 3 feet 6 inches). The internal dimensions are 40 feet 6 inches by 19 feet.

The kitchen (*coquina*), an addition of later date, adjoins its south-west angle, overlapping on the south sufficiently to allow space for a passage from kitchen to cloister across the west end of the frater, screened off by a wooden partition.

Although, as has been already mentioned, the north-east angle of the frater still stands to some height, forming part of the walls of a summer-house, the rest of the building is so thoroughly ruined that no traces of a doorway from cloister to frater are to be found. The site of the lavatory, which should be somewhere near the frater door, cannot be determined.

The kitchen shows remains of a central chimney stack

with two fireplaces back to back, and several hearths against the side walls, made of roofing tiles bedded on edge. In modern times the kitchen has been used for its original purpose, as the brick jambs of a fireplace of eighteenth century date are to be seen in the north wall. The position of the kitchen is well adapted to serve both farmery and frater, but no traces of a doorway in the south wall remain.

The western range of buildings was probably of more architectural pretensions than the rest, and had four broad and shallow buttresses along its west face. It was most likely two stories in height, having the cellar or storehouse (*cellarium*), with perhaps an outer parlour (*locutorium*) on the ground floor, and on the first floor the guest hall (*hospitium*). My reason for this suggestion is that the dimensions, 60 feet by 17 feet, tally so nearly with those recorded of the "hall" which was pulled down in 1740, and which contained in its windows the heraldic glass already mentioned (p. 309). The frater, the only other building likely to have been called the "hall," is of such different size that it cannot have been the one referred to. At the south end of the western range two rows of large green-glazed tiles were found in position on the floor.

The farmery (*infirmarium*) lies to the south of the main buildings, forming with the dorter, frater, and kitchen a small second quadrangle, which may have been used as the cloister generally attached to such a building. It is of a different build to the first work, and from the details of its masonry is probably of the same date as the kitchen—perhaps fourteenth century. It consists of a hall 67 feet by 19 feet 6 inches, opening on the south to a smaller building of irregular shape, which was in part a latrine, and may also have contained the room of the sister-in-charge of the farmery. Part of the hall may have been used as the chapel, but there is no trace of this. There is a fireplace in the south wall, with a hearth of thin tiles laid on edge. The doorway in the eastern part of the north wall has modern brick jambs, but seems to occupy the place of an older one, and its position suggests that a pentise or covered way ran from the passage east of the frater to this doorway. It is,

however, possible that there was a cloister with walks on all four sides of the space north of the farmery.

It is worth noting that at all four angles of the farmery hall a large block of sarsen stone was found built into the bottom of the foundations.¹

During the course of the excavation many pieces of metal, stone, pottery, *etc.* came to light, but none of any great interest. A piece of the leg of a mailed effigy in Purbeck marble was found in the church, and in the foundations of the sleeper wall between nave and north transept was a stone coffin containing parts of a skeleton. Many domestic objects of post-suppression date were turned up, but the most interesting find was the large number of flooring tiles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These were not of a fine quality, either in material or execution, and were probably of local make, but formed none the less a very good series, some of the typical specimens being here reproduced (pp. 318, 324). The fabric is the same in all, a coarse red body, inlaid with white slip, with a yellow-brown lead glaze over all. A few plain green-glazed tiles were also found. The most important are two having inscriptions. The first has **SIGNUM SC'E CRUCIS** in fourteenth century lettering, in a square with a cross in the centre; the second **RICARD' ME FECIT** in a circle, with lettering of a later type, enclosing a roughly-designed head. An example of the second may be seen within the altar rails at Cookham Church; whether brought from Little Marlow or not I do not know.

The boundaries of the monastic precincts were probably marked out by water-courses. That at present existing to the west and south of the group of buildings is ancient, but those on the north and east are modern, as are all roads shown on the site plan here given. To the north of the church runs a wide ditch, now dry, which may have formed the ancient boundary on that side, and probably stretched from one set of springs on the west to another on the east. Abreast of the nave

¹ Such stones are not uncommon in ancient buildings. In the west tower of Little Marlow Church there are several blocks, at the base of the south-

western buttress. An early instance of their use occurs in the eastern angles of the nave of Iver Church, Bucks.

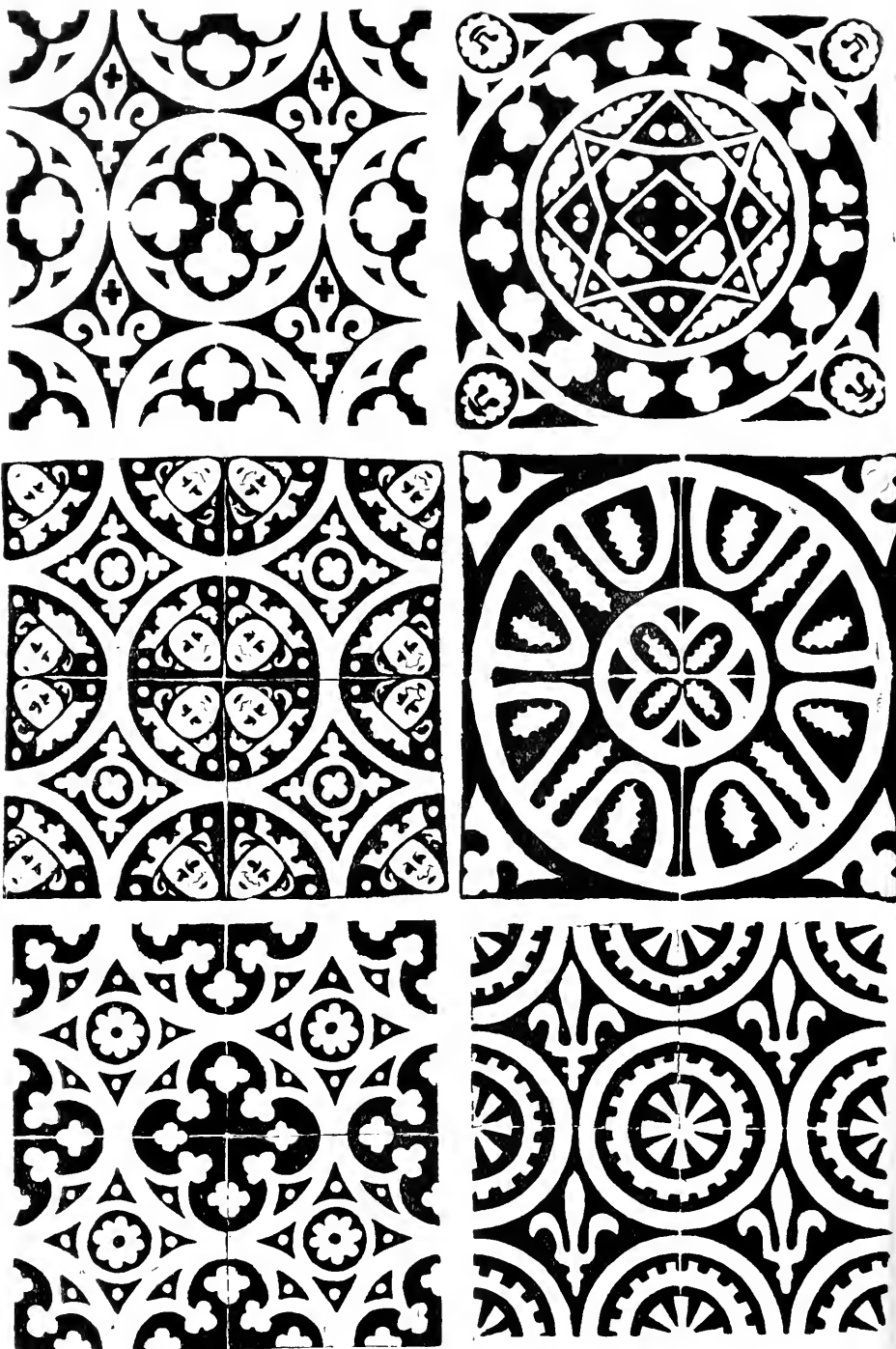


FIG. 3.—PAVING TILES FOUND AT LITTLE MARLOW NUNNERY, 1902.
FOUR-TILE PATTERNS. (Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ full size.)

of the church are signs of masonry on either side of the dry ditch, which may mark the position of a bridge by which the precinct was entered.

No traces of any buildings belonging to an outer court now exist, but to the west on the further bank of the stream is a fine timber barn, apparently ancient, now fitted up as dwelling-houses. The house known as the Abbey, to the west of the church and cloister, now in the possession of Mr. Vaughan Williams, is largely built of the materials of the monastic buildings, and parts of it may date back to the end of the sixteenth century, but not earlier.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that the thorough destruction of the buildings on this somewhat unusual site has caused the loss of many interesting details which might have helped towards the explanation of doubtful points in the archaeology of religious houses ; this much, however, may be claimed, that the excavations have brought to light a fairly complete example of the plan and arrangement of a small Benedictine nunnery of the beginning of the thirteenth century, a specimen of a class of monastic remains which has not hitherto received at the hands of antiquaries as much attention as it undoubtedly deserves.

AN ELIZABETHAN TAZZA BELONGING TO THE CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL, SOUTHAMPTON.

By the REV. E. H. GODDARD.

During the visit of the Institute to Southampton in July, 1902, a remarkable tazza was exhibited among the plate of St. Michael's Church. This singularly beautiful specimen of English silversmiths' work until quite recently, when its value had been recognized during an exhibition of the church plate of the rural deanery, was regarded as absolutely of no account by its legal guardians, who did not even know that it was silver. Nothing is known as to the date when it became the property of the church, where it was used as a credence paten, or as to the name of the donor. It bears engraved under the base the letters A.W. which may be of eighteenth century date.

The piece is a richly ornamented silver-gilt tazza of the very finest English work. Its measurements are as follows :—

Diameter of bowl	...	...	...	$6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
Height	...	...	...	$5\frac{3}{4}$ „
Diameter of base	...	...	...	4 „
Depth of bowl, outside measure	...	...	...	$1\frac{1}{2}$ „
Its weight is...	...	...	...	$2\frac{3}{4}$ oz.

Just below the rim on the inside of the bowl is a band of engraved strapwork of the usual Elizabethan type, with six vandykes coming down to a band of embossed laurel leaves with four straps across it, enclosing an embossed subject which covers the whole of the bottom of the bowl. In this Isaac advances to lift Rebecca from her kneeling camel, three other camels standing behind. On the right is the entrance to a house, from which a boy advances. A dog lies in the foreground. In the middle distance the sea, or a river, encloses an island on which appear palm trees, houses, and a church with a spire. The sun is setting to the right. On the



Kell & Son, 8, Farnival Street, Holborn E.C.

TAZZA AT ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, SOUTHAMPTON.

Two-thirds full size.



Kell & Son, 8, Fumival Street, Holborn, E.C.

TAZZA AT ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, SOUTHAMPTON.

Inside of Bowl. Two-thirds full size.



Kell & Son, 8, Farnival Street, Holborn, E.C.

TAZZA AT ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, SOUTHAMPTON.

Underside of Bowl and Foot. Two-thirds full size.

outside of the bowl under the rim is an engraved border of strapwork, in which, amongst foliage of the usual character, appear two foxes, a rabbit sitting, a grasshopper, a lizard, and a snake tied in a knot. Below this is a very narrow raised band of extremely delicate egg-and-tongue moulding. The whole under side of the bowl is covered with six embossed jewelled scutcheons connected by swags of drapery with bunches of fruit and flowers. Round the head of the stem is a fine band of egg-and-tongue moulding with chased acanthus leaves below springing from a knop of vase-like form with a flat projecting scalloped edge. The body of the knop is enriched with four jewelled scutcheons with swags of fruit and flowers below them. The base of this vase-shaped knop projects as an enriched gadroon. Below this is a cylindrical drum with a band of fluted strapwork. Beneath this is a band of egg-and-tongue, outside which is a broad band of very rich embossed work of grotesque marine beasts, and below this again a projecting rim of egg-and-tongue moulding with an edge of small scallops. This is divided from the actual rim of the base, which has larger egg-and-tongue ornament, by a narrow chased band with minute circles and flutes.

The Hall marks are the lion passant and the leopard's head uncrowned, with the London date letter **k** for 1567. The maker's mark is a bunch of grapes within a plain shield. Mr. Cripps gives the mark as that of the maker of a silver-gilt cup and cover with chased ornament belonging to the Armourer's Company. The name of the maker using this mark appears to be unknown. Whoever he may have been, he was an admirable artist.

The three plates illustrating this account are from photographs by Messrs. Chalkley Gould, of Southampton, and are reproduced to a scale of two-thirds of the actual size of the tazza.

THE PREMONSTRATENSIAN ABBEY OF ST. MARY,
BLANCHLAND, NORTHUMBERLAND.

By W. H. KNOWLES, F.S.A.¹

The situation of Blanchland is wild and remote, even in these days of well-kept roads, and must have been so to an unusual degree at the period of its foundation. It lies in a secluded spot in the upper reaches of the river Derwent, which forms the boundary of the counties of Northumberland and Durham, and it is therefore one of the most southerly points in the former of the two counties. It is closed in on all sides by high moorlands, which on the north rise to an elevation of 1,345 feet at Burnt-shieldshaugh Fell. The nearest railway stations are Hexham, Stanhope, and Shotley Bridge, and are all more than ten miles distant.

Blanchland derives its name from an earlier foundation of the same order, having the same name (Blanche Lande),² in the diocese of Coutances in Normandy.

The foundation was established at the instance of Walter de Bolbec in 1165, for an abbot and twelve canons of the Premonstratensian order.³ The only other house of this order in Northumberland was Alnwick, a more important and a wealthier establishment.

The history of the house may be briefly told. At the time of, or immediately after, its foundation, it was granted the churches of Heddon on the Wall,⁴ Bywell St. Andrew, Kirkharle, and, later, Bolam, all in the same county. It was plundered by the Scots, and a picturesque story is told of how the marauders, after they had failed to locate the house, were guided by the sound of the bells, which the canons rang for joy at their supposed escape.⁵

¹ Read November 5th, 1902.

² The name occurs as Albalanda, Blaicalanda, and Glancalanda.

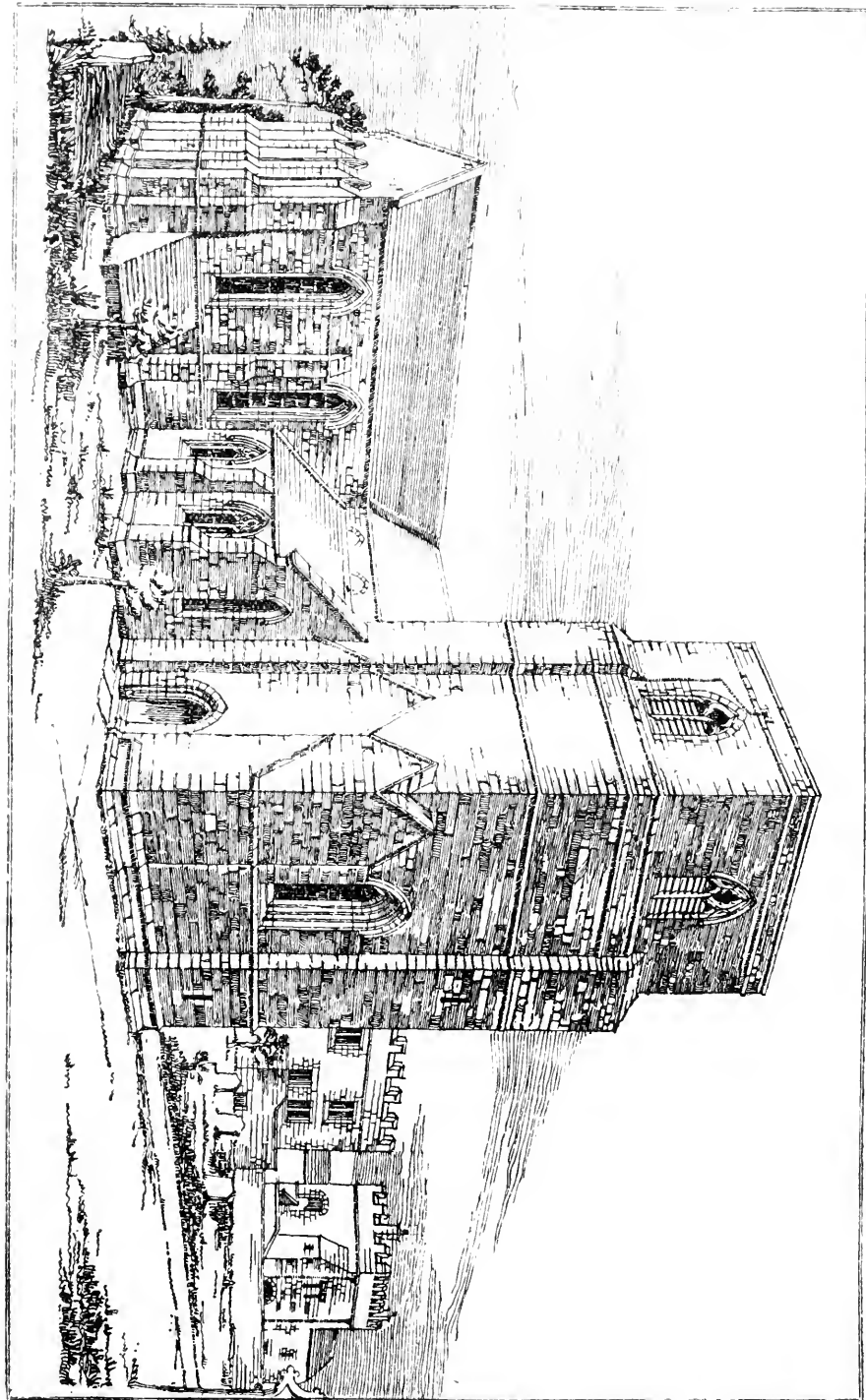
³ *Chronica de Mailros*, Bannatyne Club ed., p. 80.

⁴ At that church some additions to

the chancel may be assigned to the influence of the patronage of the Abbey, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, XI. 246.

⁵ The same story is told with regard to Brinkburn Priory in Northumberland.

BLANCHLAND ABBEY, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.





In 1327 it had a visit from Edward III. on the occasion of his march from Durham against the Scots who had burned the Abbey.¹ The location of the house caused it to be exempt from the dissolution of the lesser religious houses in 1536, and it survived till the greater monasteries fell in 1539. It was visited by Drs. Legh and Taylor in 1537, who returned its value at £40 a year.

For more than two centuries the Abbey lay in ruins, with the exception of some portions of its domestic buildings. In 1752 the remains of the church were built up and repaired, and the curiously formed edifice which to-day does duty as the village church of Blanchland was the result. In 1815 it received a new roof and a paved floor. The aisle on the east of the north transept was constructed and repaired in 1854. In 1884 the east wall was almost rebuilt, and new windows and buttresses were added. Since that date the church has been ceiled with pine, and the chancel refitted.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION.

A close examination of the remaining parts of the church does not reveal any work earlier than, or even of the date of, the foundation. Nor are there any remains or indications of any church having existed there before the canons were established. The general custom of the Premonstratensians in the choice of the sites for their houses tends to preclude the supposition that Blanchland was the site of a parochial church or chapel in early times. There was a close parallel between the Premonstratensian Canons and the Cistercian Monks. Both were reformers, and established themselves in protest against the laxity of their order, the Augustinian Canons in the one case and the Benedictine Monks in the other; both chose white for their habit; and they both chose to live in remote seclusion; and hence the sites of their houses were in the majority of cases in both orders entirely new and unencumbered, and in few cases did they choose to overlay and absorb an existing

¹ Froissart's *Chronicles*.

parish church, as was so frequently the case with the parent orders.¹

More than a quarter of a century must have elapsed before the canons began to build a permanent domicile. It is natural to look to the quire to reveal the period of the building, as it was almost invariably the first portion erected, when any great building or rebuilding scheme was entered upon in a conventual establishment.

The first decade of the thirteenth century may with reasonable safety be taken as the date of the beginning of the work. It is a plain, bold, and very characteristic phase of the robust and sturdy Early English of the northern counties.

The plan, so far as it remains, shows that the church consisted of a long aisleless quire and nave, apparently without the intervention of a dividing arch, a north transept with an eastern aisle, and a tower in a very unusual position, *viz.* at the north end of the north transept. The south transept seems to have been omitted and its usual location occupied by a sacristy in the same relative position as that which existed at Easby. The irregularities of the plans of the White Canons' houses were so great that it is extremely difficult to form any hypothesis as to the arrangement and existence of buildings where there is a complete blank in the plan.

In addition to the church, almost the whole of the western range of the claustral buildings remains, and the gatehouse, still further to the west.

Before describing the buildings in detail it will be an advantage to enumerate what seems to have remained at the time of the repair of 1752,² and what was then allowed to remain, for there can be no doubt that the ruins suffered at that time some paring down and mutilations after the custom of the guardians of churches at that period.

The tower was no doubt entire and made some use of, either in connection with the mansion of the Forsters, in the western range, or with the village school, which

¹ The whole question is very fully gone into in a valuable series of papers by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson in Vol. XLII of this series.

² Due to the liberality of Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who held the estates.

abutted upon its western side, as shown by the modern raking cuts for roofs. The north and south walls of the quire are mainly ancient, and the former must have been practically entire. The east wall was rebuilt from beneath the sills of the windows to the gable. The greater part of the arch between the quire and the north transept was reset, and the wall it abuts upon on the west built with the external buttress. Walls were also built to the south, the east, and west of the quire, enclosing it, and on the east and west sides of the north transept. The former of these blocked the arcade of two arches, which appears to have been standing. The resulting church was of the form of the letter L, the roof being of low pitch and hipped at the south-west angle.

Had the buildings survived to our day as they were in 1752, the task of unravelling their story would have been greatly facilitated, for it is clear from the most cursory examination that the praiseworthy efforts of Lord Crewe to preserve what was left, and to provide Blanchland with a habitable church, have resulted in a most puzzling conglomeration of old and new work, with old details and parts re-used and rebuilt, not necessarily in their former places. Keeping these difficulties in mind, a careful examination of the vestiges of Blanchland Abbey may be made an interesting and instructive study.

The remains of the church show that it followed the unusual form, which seems to have been generally adopted by the Premonstratensians in laying down their churches. Some of these, as Easby, were subsequently altered and brought more nearly to the normal plan of a church with aisles,¹ but the larger number were long and narrow aisleless structures, and though they often had side chapels and transepts, these seem to have been generally walled off from the main alley. Though the exact length of Blanchland cannot now be determined without excavation, the remains

¹ The remaining aisleless portion of the church of Easby Abbey (see Mr. W. H. St. J. Hope's paper, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, X, 117), is 98 feet long and 23 feet wide. Langdon Abbey has a church 136 feet 6 inches in length and 22 feet 6 inches in width ;

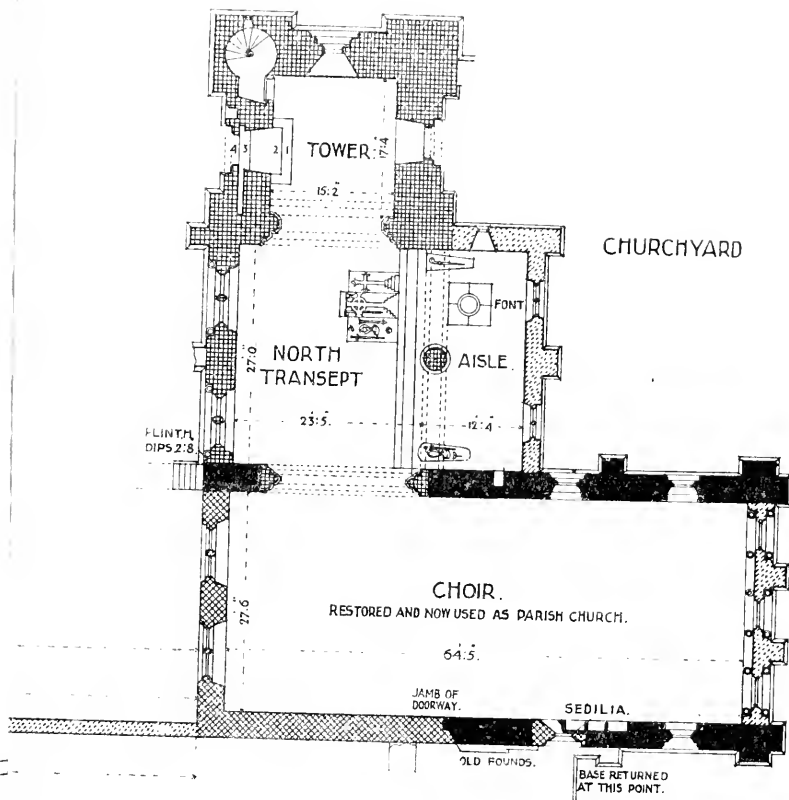
while Bayham, one of the longest and most characteristic churches of the order, is 257 feet long and 26 feet wide, and is aisleless, though broken by two transepts in the length (*Builder*, July 3rd, 1897).

above ground show that it was at least 155 feet long, and only 27 feet 6 inches wide.

The east wall seems to have been down in 1752, and was then rebuilt with two large two-light windows, similar to, but with less detail than, those in the west side of the north transept, and without shafts in the jambs. The windows may have been to some extent constructed of old materials rearranged. This, however, cannot now be determined, as the east wall was almost entirely rebuilt in 1884, when three lancet windows of Early English character replaced the former ones.¹ Below the windows the wall is ancient, and the two central buttresses do not appear to have been carried higher than the string course beneath the window sills, a characteristic which is seen in many Early English compositions in the northern counties.² There are two buttresses at each angle, which are quite plain with one inset and long sloping heads which die into the walls below the eaves. The north side of the quire retains two original lancet windows and a buttress between them. The windows have plain continuous chamfers on the outside, but inside are furnished with nook shafts with moulded caps and bases, and moulded arches with hood moulds. On the exterior the hood mould is carried across the buttress between the windows as a string and finishes on the west side of the western wind with a single "dog-tooth" flower as a termination. On the south side, less ancient walling remains, but the easternmost window is entire and like those in the north wall. West of this window the old work remains only in the lower part of the wall. The second window to the west has been rebuilt, and the nook shafts omitted. In the wall below are three *sedilia* with trefoiled arches, and dividing shafts with moulded caps and bases. The arches are restorations in plaster. On the outside at this point the plinth of a buttress remains, and to the west of it a short

¹ Fortunately Mr. C. C. Hodges made a plan and some notes in 1879, and he has most kindly placed these and other information at my disposal, for which I am much indebted.

² As at Corbridge, Bywell St. Peter, Ovingham, Stamfordham, Warden, Houghton-le-Spring, and other places.



PROBABLE SITE
OF SACRISTY, CHAPTER
HOUSE ETC.

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W.H. KNOWLES, F.S.A.
MENS ET DELT. NOV. 1901



THE ABBEY OF ST MARY. BLANCHLAND NORTHUMBERLAND

GROUND PLAN.

CHURCHYARD

GATEHOUSE

GATEWAY

WALKWAY

WALKWAY

WALKWAY

WALKWAY

WALKWAY

WALKWAY

WALKWAY

WALKWAY

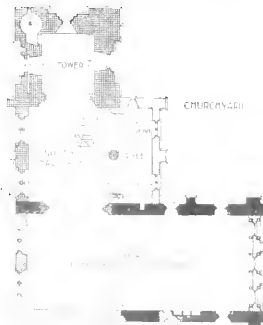
SITE OF NAVE

CHURCHYARD

CHURCHYARD

CHURCHYARD

CHURCHYARD



Abbey
Church
Tower
Nave
Choir
Vaulted Chamber
Probable Site of Chest House
Gatehouse
Gateway
Walkway
Churchyard

Scale of Feet

Scale of Feet

length of plinth shows that the wall was increased in thickness before the plinth was returned towards the south, where it did duty as the plinth along the east side of the eastern range of buildings. A few feet further west the ancient wall gives out altogether at the eastern jamb of a doorway which has a filleted roll moulding between two quirks and which presumably once opened to a vestry. Up to the south-western angle of the present church the wall is entirely of the time of the repair and without an opening or other feature. The wall enclosing the church on the west is also of that date, and contains two windows of two lights each. These are apparently inferior copies of the windows in the west walls of the transept, which are partly ancient. From the south-west angle of the church for a distance of 64 feet 6 inches westwards an ordinary fence wall of modern date divides the site of the cloister garth from that of the nave, now the churchyard; but before the north-east angle of the western range is reached, the modern wall abuts upon a short length of ancient wall, and this is fortunately standing to almost its full height, though incorporated in the wall of the later building it abuts upon. It contains some interesting details. Near its eastern end is a short length of a half-round shaft, the original purpose of which it would be difficult to guess at. Further west, and now half buried in the turf, is a double *piscina* with pointed trefoil-headed openings. Just to the east of this are to be seen the toothings of a cross wall, probably the base of a stone screen.¹ The most interesting feature, however, is a lancet window, built up, but almost entire; the splayed jambs, the *voussoirs* of the arch, and some portions of the hood mould, though now weathered flush to the wall, can be distinctly traced. Beneath the window a short length of the string course remains, and shows that the windows were high enough to be clear of the cloister roof on this side, and also that the nave extended to a point situated further west than this window. The north wall of the nave has been traced in its foundations from time to time when graves

¹ Mr. Hope gives me a parallel to this from the church at Lilleshull Abbey, where the western bay of the nave is cut off by a screen.

have been dug in the burial ground, which now occupies its site.

About the middle of the thirteenth century the canons seem to have been in a flourishing condition, and to have made additions to their church. What the exact nature

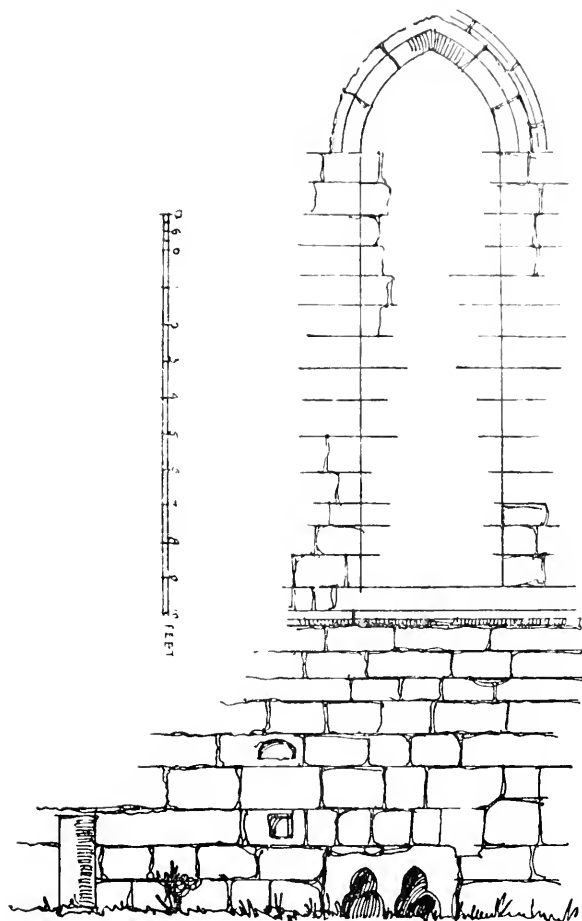


FIG. 1.—LANCET WINDOW, WEST END OF NAVE.

and extent of these were, it is now impossible to say. The remains as they exist comprise a small transept, with an aisle on its eastern side, and a tower to the north of it. It is likewise impossible to say whether a transept or other adjunct existed on the site of the

present one, of the same date as the quire. The tower is of small dimensions, being only 15 feet 2 inches square inside, but of exceedingly massive construction, and was no doubt intended to be used for protective and defensive purposes, as were many church towers of Northumberland and Cumberland. It was apparently never completed according to the original design, but it is clear that it was intended to have at least four stages, and was no doubt meant to be of a greater altitude than that to which it now attains. It is furnished with a bold and deep base course on the north and west sides, which is changed to one of much lighter section on the east side, where a building of some kind contemporary with the tower has existed. This was of no great height, but had a very high roof, the ridge of which reached almost to the top of the second stage. The first string course was carried over this roof and formed its weather moulding. The tower buttresses are perhaps its most striking feature. At its two southern angles they have no projection on the south side towards the church, but east and west they project equally with their fellows at the northern angles. That at the north-west encloses the angle and contains an ample newel stair with a well 6 feet 6 inches in diameter. At the north-east angle the buttresses terminate some distance below the second string course, in two bold gabled heads. The result of this is that the two higher string courses pass unbroken over this angle. The other three buttresses rise as high as the work of the earlier date remains and have evidently been intended to be carried to the contemplated summit, as they are now finished by rudely formed slopes, which die into the wall at the base of the later upper stage. Whether the tower as originally designed was ever completed cannot now be determined. The probability is that it was not, as its construction must have been a considerable undertaking for such an obscure and poor house as Blanchland. The fact of the upper stage being evidently added about the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Scotch raids had to a large extent become innocuous, as compared with their dire effects at the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, seems to point to

the fact that the tower had not been completed when the abbey was burned. The upper stage forms the belfry to the church and has three windows, to the north, east, and west, of two lights with flowing tracery. That on the east is a reconstruction of 1752, at which time it would appear that the south-east angle of this stage was down at that angle; a great part of the south and east walls, as well as the parapet, which is divided from the upper stage by a plain oversailing course, were all then built.

The tower is entered by doorways on its east and west sides. The latter is the usual entrance to the church. The mouldings are of two orders and are continuous and relieved by a double hollow. There is a hood mould on the apex of which is a small carved finial. On the north side of this doorway is a niche or recess with a trefoiled head. This has at one time had a wooden door, the rebate for which is evident and the holes where the crooks were inserted. The hood mould of the doorway passes over the head of the niche. The doorway is furnished with a provision for a stout drawbar, which could be drawn across the closed door, or shot into a slot in the south jamb, long enough to contain it, after the manner of some of the northern pele tower doors. The east door is of the same size as that on the west, but of plainer character. It has two chamfered continuous orders and no hood mould. There are lancet windows in the north and west sides, both in the second stage. That to the north has externally three orders, chamfered and continuous, and a hood mould. That on the west, which has had its inner order cut out and reset in another form, has two orders only, and its sill is placed higher; beneath this is a supplementary string course which stops at the buttresses. Its hood, like that of the north window, is carried as a string course as far as the buttresses, where it stops. Internally these windows have deeply splayed jambs, rear vaults, and chamfered escoinson arches.

The tower opens to the north transept by a lofty arch of fine proportions of three chamfered orders with a hood mould. As the width of the tower is

considerably less than that of the transept, the two outer orders have no existence in the jambs on the north or tower side, but spring from the walls above the level of the caps. The aisle on the east side of the transept is divided from it by an arcade of two arches consisting of two chamfered orders with hood mould towards the west. The arches spring from moulded corbels to the north and south, but at the centre are supported by a circular column with chamfered base and

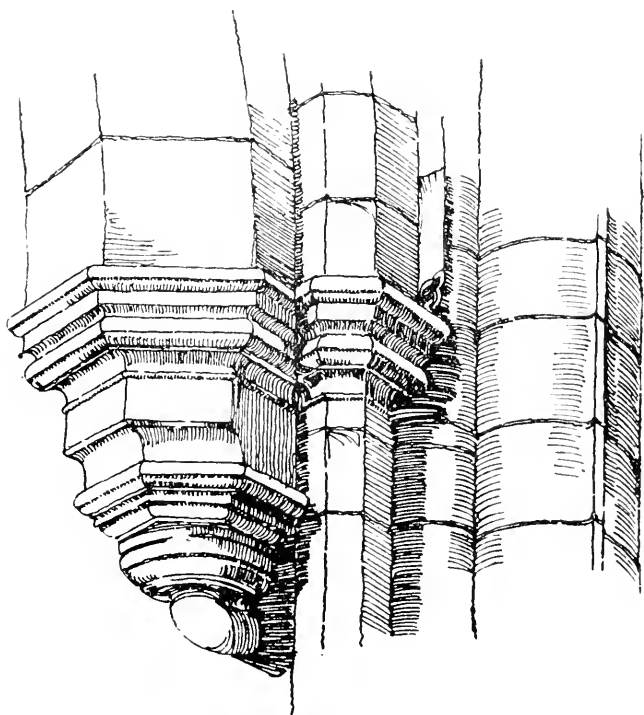


FIG. 2.—CORBEL OF ARCADE, SOUTH SIDE OF NORTH TRANSEPT.

moulded capital. The aisle walls date from 1854, when, during the incumbency of the late Archdeacon Thorpe, the wall blocking the arcade was removed and the aisle added to the church. In the south wall of the aisle is an aumbry, the original form of which is doubtful. A tre-foiled head in one stone is built into the wall immediately above it. In this aisle is the ancient font, with circular bowl chamfered on the under side and supported by a

circular shaft on a chamfered base. The west wall of the transept has a base course similar to that on the north and west sides of the tower. The lower string course is stopped after passing round the small buttress, which projects from the west face of the large buttress at the south-west angle of the tower. This wall contains two windows of two lights of somewhat unusual character. They have apparently been partly reset in 1752 and may not follow too closely the original design, but they certainly retain some old details *in situ*. The north jamb of the northern window does not seem to have been disturbed, and a portion of the arch, which externally is of two chamfered orders and which rises from it, is also original. Externally the jambs had detached nook shafts, which have fallen away, but the moulded caps and bases remain. The mullions are moulded with double hollow chamfers, and they branch at the springing and strike the inner order of the arches in an abrupt and clumsy manner. On the interior, the outer order is moulded with double hollow chamfers. The windows are of large size and give a distinct character to the building as approached from the west. The transept opens into the choir by a lofty arch of three chamfered orders with hood mould. The arch springs from moulded jambs, which consist of a bold filleted roll between two quarter rounds and two small stopped chamfers. The caps and bases are moulded. Though probably following the original form, the arch bears distinct signs of having been tampered with, and probably rebuilt, with the exception of the western jamb and a portion of the arch on that side, as far as the hood mould extends. The wall to the west of it is also of the 1752 period. The sections of the base mould on the two sides differ.

The cloister garth occupied the usual position on the south-west of the church, and is now a lawn attached to the inn; it measures 81 feet 10 inches from north to south, and about 79 feet 6 inches from east to west.

The range of buildings forming the west side of the cloisters has been frequently altered by the Radcliffes, the Forsters, and the Crewe Trustees; it is now adapted to the purposes of an inn with the sign of "The Lord Crewe Arms." The northern or tower portion is two

stories in height and finished at the roof level with a battlemented parapet; the remainder of the block is three stories in height, covered with a slated roof. The walls of the ground floor, to the extent shown on the plan, are of mediaeval masonry. The chamber adjoining the south wall of the nave still exhibits its early structural features. Its lower story has a semi-circular vault, and is entered from the cloister by a simple pointed doorway, segmental on the inside; it was originally lighted by two small double-light square-headed windows, one at the west end, and one on the north side, the latter being placed beyond the assumed west end of the nave of the church. The window at

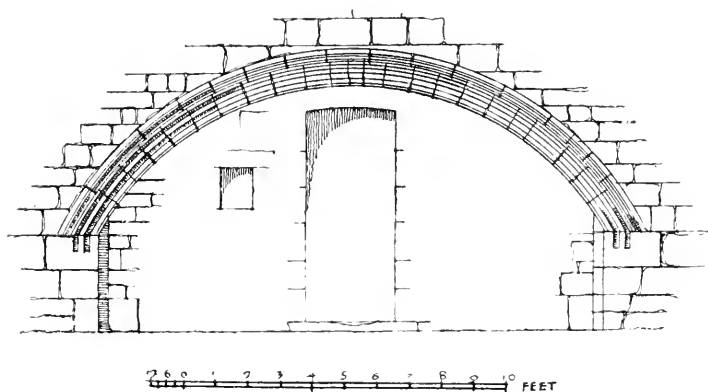


FIG. 3.—LAVATORY RECESS, WEST SIDE OF CLOISTER.

the north-east corner is an inserted one and opened on to the site of the nave. The doorway on the south side, and the one adjoining to it under the modern staircase, have both shouldered heads. An interesting feature, contemporary with the thirteenth century work of the church, is a wide moulded segmental arch with label, at the south end of the east wall of this range; it formed the lavatory recess.

In the interior is a large fireplace occupying the south end of the inn, in close proximity to the ancient refectory. It has a double-chamfered flat four-centred arched head and jambs, and the small opening on the west side of it a single-chamfered three-centred arch; it

is no doubt on the site and lines of the fireplace of the abbey kitchen. Similar masonry occurs in the modernized fireplace of a room which occupies the middle of the ground floor. The ceiling of this room is divided by massive moulded beams.

The walls of the room over the vaulted chamber are ancient; and the windows, of later date, are square-headed, with rude trefoil cusping. The remainder of the western range, which now forms the upper floors of the inn, possesses little of archaeological interest.

A row of cottages which encloses the cloister garth on its southern side appears to coincide in position and extent with the refectory or frater. The walls contain several fragments of mediaeval masonry.

The gatehouse of the abbey has suffered much from rebuilding; it is situated to the west of the church and opens to the north. It is two stories in height and comprises on the ground floor a passage with a flat vaulted ceiling of modern appearance, and two apartments (now used as shops), one of them with a vaulted ceiling. Above these rooms are two others, in one of which is an interesting fireplace of fifteenth century date. It is 7 feet 6 inches in width, with chamfered jambs and oversailing corbel courses, which support the head and projecting hood. The windows in this room are placed in the southern or inner side, and there are fragments still left of earlier windows than those which now fill the openings. Above the passage is a third chamber, now used as the village reading-room, and opening off it, in the buttress at the north-east angle, is a cupboard, possibly an ancient *garde-robe*. The buttress and chimney stack at the west end retain their mediaeval features, but the battlemented parapet which encloses the roof has been rebuilt.

The foundations of a wall connecting the east side of the gatehouse with the western range can be traced, and are shown on the plan.

The grave covers comprise two dedicated to the memory of ancient abbots, and another probably to a canon of the house. Two others preserve the memory of Robert Eglyston and T[homas] E[ggleston] who were possibly foresters of the abbey. In the fragments of

stained glass preserved in the windows, the figures of Premonstratensian canons in white habits are depicted. In the graveyard there is a very fine churchyard cross; it is of millstone grit and stands about 8 feet above ground.

There is not now any evidence of the more secular or domestic buildings. Possibly the guest-house, which was occasionally placed on the west side of the cloister, may have been so located at Blanchland in a portion of the buildings yet remaining; whilst the abbot's lodging may have been situated on the east side of the church tower, where, it has been observed, buildings once existed. The extent of the precincts no doubt included the area enclosed by the River Derwent, which passes about 100 yards south of the cloister, and by the Shildon Burn, which flows into the Derwent 50 yards west of the gatehouse. A short distance from the abbey, and on the west side of the Shildon Burn, is the supposed site of the mill and fish-ponds.

Although Blanchland was but a small foundation with slender endowment, it is greatly to be desired that a correct plan should be obtained of it. This might easily be accomplished by a little excavation, and could not fail to reveal a great deal about which so much has necessarily been left to conjecture.

TWO HOARDS OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN SOMERSETSHIRE IN 1666.

By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A. Scot.

Writers on the Roman antiquities of Somerset commonly state that a large hoard of Roman coins belonging to all periods of the Empire was found in 1666 at Conquest Farm, in the parish of Bishop's Lydeard, three miles north of Taunton, and close to Norton Fitzwarren. The find has been used to support various theories about the Romano-British occupation of Taunton, and these theories have gained some currency. An examination of the evidence for the find has, however, shown me that both the place where the coins were found and the character of the coins themselves have been seriously misdescribed.

The sole authority for the find is an anonymous dissertation composed by a local Somersetshire antiquary at or about the time when the coins were discovered. The manuscript of this dissertation was in 1689 in the possession of Andrew Paschal, rector of Chedzoy from 1662 till 1694, and sometime Canon of Wells. He mentions it in some of his letters to his friend, John Aubrey, which are preserved in the Bodleian Library,¹ and, *inter alia*, he observes that the author was "an antiquary in our part," but omits to give his name.² The dissertation subsequently came into the hands of Thomas Hearne and was printed by him *in extenso* at the end of his edition of Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle* (Oxford, 1725). This is not exactly the kind of publication in which one would expect to meet it, but Hearne was discursive even beyond the average of antiquaries, and was always ready

¹ See Paschal's letters to Aubrey of Nov. 4 and Dec. 2, 1689, and April 7, 1690, in the Bodleian (MS. Aubrey 13, pp. 83-4 and 15, p. 118). The letter of Dec. 2, 1689, has been printed in a volume of *Miscellanies on Several Curious Subjects* (London, 1714).

² Our *Anonymous* wrote also a treatise

on Stonehenge, which he took to commemorate a victory of Cangi over Belgae. Two other Somerset men of the seventeenth century wrote on the same topic, John Webb, of Burleigh (1611-72), and Walter Charleton, of Shepton Mallet, but their views differ from that of the *Anonymous*.

to print what interested him in any of his antiquarian volumes which chanced to be passing through the press at the convenient moment. What has since become of the manuscript is unknown, and, thanks to Hearne, is also immaterial. The dissertation itself, as we can read it, is a poor, uncritical bit of work, full of strange etymologies after the manner of the seventeenth century, and characterized by a considerable ignorance of Roman numismatics.

It has been usually quoted as stating that the hoard in question was found at Conquest Farm. In reality it states nothing of the sort. Those who have so quoted it have merely exhibited the carelessness which is characteristic of many English antiquaries. They have read only the title of the dissertation, and read even that wrong. The title states that the coins were found "near Conquest," and the text shows that Conquest is thus emphasized simply because the author thought Conquest Farm to record by its name the final conquest of Britain by the Romans—an idea which needs no criticism now. But the actual *provenance* which he assigns for the coins is different and, indeed, twofold. "Two large earthen Pitchers," he says, "full of Roman Medalls, each 80*l*. Troy weight, were digged up by Labourers with Mattocks in ploughed fields, the one in Laurence Liddyard, the other within the parish of Stogumber adjoining." He adds that the latter of the two was found in the north of Stogumber parish, at Capton, towards Williton. The former of these sites is about eight miles, the latter about thirteen miles from Taunton in a north-westerly direction. Neither hoard, assuredly, has any connection with any Romano-British occupation of the site of Taunton.

The character of the two hoards has been no less misdescribed than their number and *provenance*. The author of the dissertation omits to tell us whether the coins in the two earthen pitchers differed or what their metals were, and what he does tell us is by no means satisfactory. He states that "the most ancient and greater part of those Coynes were of Claudius Caesar," and he gives a number of reverses; the other coins, he says, belonged to "Domitius Nero, Domitianus, Trajanus,

Antoninus, Victorinus, Septimus Severus, Tacitus, Galienus, Aurelius, Aurelianus, Tetricus, Quintillus, Posthumus, etc., yea almost all the successors of Claudius about 500 years, till the Romans left this land." Some of them "had some light Tincture on them, as if they had been silvered over." Some conclusions can be drawn from these statements, but they are not quite those which our author would have expected. The bulk of the coins obviously consisted of copper—thus much is implied by the mention of some coins as silvered over. The bulk of them, moreover, belonged to the third century. The coins of Claudius, of which our author quotes reverses, and which he mentions as specially abundant, are not coins of Claudius I., but of an obscurer Claudius Gothicus who reigned A.D. 268–270. The coins of Gallienus, Tacitus, Tetricus, Quintillus, Postumus, Aurelian, date from the same epoch, and the silvered coins are plainly the so-called Antoniniani which were minted in some plenty during the larger part of the third century. What we should say of the earlier emperors named by our author is less clear. The hoards may have included, among the mass of third century issues, some few specimens from the first or second century. But these would probably have been "large brass" and would have been noticed as such by their contrast with the small third century copper and pseudo-silver. It is at least as likely that a writer who confused Claudius I. with Claudius Gothicus made also other errors. His Trajan may be the Trajanus Decius who reigned A.D. 249–251, and his Domitius Nero and Domitianus may be Domitius Aurelianus, emperor in A.D. 270–275. His obvious desire to increase the extent of his hoard and magnify its importance would aid his error, just as it has obviously led him into his empty phrase about "all the emperors from Claudius for 500 years till the Romans left Britain." At any rate, we may conclude that the bulk of the coins belonged to the third century and for the most part to the third quarter of it (A.D. 250–275), and in default of evidence to the contrary, and as the bulk of the coins were of the same character, we may consider the two hoards not to have greatly differed. Such hoards are common. The second half of the third

century was a troubled time, in which men lost or buried their treasure frequently enough. There is nothing strange in the notion that two hoards of this class were buried on the edge of the Quantocks in Somerset. The size of the hoards is, however, noteworthy. We are told that each weighed 80 pounds Troy, and there may therefore have been in each—"third brass" and debased Antoniniani mixed—as many as 10,000 coins. These are by no means the largest of such hoards. Thirty thousand coins of this epoch were found in 1873 near Blackmoor House in Hampshire, and nearly 20,000 were found at Baconthorpe in Norfolk in 1878. But two hoards of 10,000 coins each deserve at least a reference to their size.

Proceedings at Meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING AT SOUTHAMPTON.

July 22nd to July 29th.

President of the Meeting.—The Right Hon. Lord Montagu of Beaulieu.

Vice-Presidents of the Meeting.—The Right Hon. Evelyn Ashley Esq., C.B., F.S.A.; Robert Munro, Esq., M.A., M.D., LL.D.; The Very Rev. The Dean of Winchester, M.A., F.S.A.

Director.—E. Green, Esq., F.S.A.

Local Secretary.—Percy G. Stone, Esq., F.S.A.

Local Secretary for Winchester.—N. C. H. Nisbett, Esq.

Meeting Secretary.—C. R. Peers, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Tuesday, July 22nd.

The opening proceedings of the Meeting took place at noon in the Council Chamber of the municipal buildings, when the Mayor (Mr. Councillor Dunsford), supported by the Deputy Mayor and the Sheriff of Southampton, received the President and Members of the Institute, and formally welcomed them in his own name and that of the Corporation. He then called upon the President of the Meeting to take the chair.

LORD MONTAGU OF BEAULIEU, President of the Meeting, having taken the chair, delivered the Presidential address, as follows:

I must ask your indulgence in offering you some remarks on taking the chair as President of this meeting of the Institute, to which you have done me the honour to invite me. It is, I think, twenty-nine years since the Royal Archaeological Institute selected Southampton for a place of meeting, as being a centre around which so much of archaeological interest is gathered. I had the honour to receive the Members at Beaulieu in that year, 1873, and to conduct them over the ruins of that beautiful abbey "*de Bello loco Regis*," or "The King's Beau Lieu," as it is described in the ancient charters, a name which is so justly due to its beautiful situation; and I shall hope to have the pleasure of welcoming such members as desire to visit Beaulieu on Saturday next. I cannot undertake to bring before you the many and varied objects of interest throughout this great county of Southampton, or Hampshire, as in common parlance it is called; to do so would be beyond my powers, and to do justice to them would weary you beyond endurance.

It seems to me that there are sufficient objects of interest noted in the full programme for the week which are within reasonable distance of this ancient town of Southampton for me to call special

attention to, and even in doing this I can but touch upon them in a cursory manner, making as it were a sort of outline map, of which the details must be filled in by those who are good enough to conduct the visits to the various points of interest selected in the programme.

We are now met within the ancient walls of Southampton, Samp-ton, or Ampton, as it is so often colloquially called by many of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, especially in the New Forest, thus recalling its name dating from Roman times, and the Roman settlement at Clausanton, the mouth of the Anton, or Itchen, river, at Bitterne as we now know it. Clausentum was of course connected by Roman roads northward with Venta, or Winchester, and Calleva, or Silchester, all *castra* or camps of the Roman colonization and conquest, and no doubt with Portchester ("Portus Magnus"), that splendid castle in Portsmouth Harbour which we hope to visit, and so eastwards on to Chichester.

When we see the stately beauty of what remains of the ancient walls of Southampton, mostly of the twelfth century, we feel how much we could desire to see them more free from the disfiguring buildings erected against them, in which some of their most beautiful features are actually incorporated. It is to be feared that the new line of railway along the western shore, which has received the sanction of Parliament, will spoil the view here obtained of the old Edwardian walls.

Southampton, I regret to say, cannot be altogether complimented on the treatment of its ancient monuments. The beautiful Bar Gate, which at one time was threatened with destruction, is disfigured by the line of electric trams being taken through it, and the recent erection of a disagreeable building at the end of the High Street, on the site of the old Water Gate, spoils the view of the river and quays. At the same time private munificence has rescued "King John's House," and a part of "Canute's Palace" still remains, and some parts of other old houses, which it is intended we should visit to-day. Such visits have undoubtedly a favourable effect on public opinion, creating interest and support for the preservation of remnants of former ages. At Winchester you will see some splendid old walls, also of the twelfth century, with some portions of even older date. When we visit that most interesting and ancient city, the cradle of Christianity as well as of the Constitutional Monarchy under which the British Empire has reached its present greatness, let us remember that the principles of government which were laid down by King Alfred are the foundations upon which the British Constitution has been reared. To attempt now to describe in any detail the wonderful objects of interest in the city of Winchester would be impossible. I am glad to see that two days of the session are to be devoted to them. The cathedral alone would occupy a whole day to do it justice, its history dating from the year 643, its bishopric seventeen years later. There are the remains of the castle, and the splendid hall, now called the County Hall, of which I understand Mr. William W. Portal is going to give us an account, when we visit Winchester to-morrow, and no one is better qualified to tell us all about this most interesting and beautiful monument of former times.

Another object of unfailing interest is the Hospital of St. Cross, with its perfect Norman church, its two foundations of the Brethren of

St. Cross, of 1132, by Bishop Henry de Blois, and that of Cardinal Beaufort, the Brethren of Noble Poverty. One of the honours I esteem most is having been a trustee of St. Cross for a great many years, and having seen the revival of the foundation of the Brethren of Noble Poverty. I am glad to see that a visit is to be paid to the ancient college of Winchester and its lovely cloisters, as well as to the castle of Wolvesey, of which it is to be regretted that so little remains, and to which we are invited by the Mayor of Winchester and the President of the Hampshire Field Club. I fear time may not permit of a visit to what remains of the abbey of Hyde, with which the memory of King Alfred is so intimately connected.

The neighbourhood is rich in monastic remains. Of some the churches still happily remain and are still used for Divine worship, such as Romsey, a Benedictine foundation dating from 907, and the collegiate church of Christchurch, of the time of Edward the Confessor, while those of the abbey of Beaulieu and its fair daughter Netley are in ruins.

The visit to Romsey cannot fail to be of great interest, especially in view of the late discoveries of the foundations of an older church which have been made and will be explained to us. We hope to see the remains of the priory of Titchfield, 1231, and the house called "Place House," 1539, built upon the site of and incorporating a portion of the church, by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton. Time will not, I fear, permit a visit to the remains of the abbey of Southwick, also a priory of Austin Canons, founded at Portchester in 1133, and removed to Southwick when Portchester became a royal castle; nor can we hope to reach the beautiful abbey church of Christchurch. I am glad to observe that a visit is proposed to the ancient and unused Episcopal Palace, which was built by Henry de Blois, at Bishops Waltham, and largely rebuilt by William of Wykeham. There are also other objects of interest in that neighbourhood. Some small opportunity will be given to members to have a glimpse of one of the most interesting monuments of ancient days, now unique, namely the New Forest, curiously enough the last royal forest to be made (and therefore called the New Forest), and the last one remaining, all the rest of the royal forests having been disafforested.

It is of great interest to archaeologists, as well as to the British public, whose enjoyment of it for recreation is dependent on its remaining open and unenclosed, except such portions as are allotted to the growth of timber. This, with the free exercise of the rights of common and the preservation of the ancient and ornamental woods, are now secured by Act of Parliament. There is much still which may repay more methodical study in this beautiful area. The fosses require to be traced, and they seem to indicate a careful plan of defence by the ancient Britons, whose cremated remains are to be found in the barrows, which appear on most of the large open heaths, on the high ground.

I trust that I have not detained you too long. I have felt that my position here to-day is only that of one who desires, like most of you, to obtain, by the means of this meeting of the Institute, a better knowledge of the objects of interest which surround us, and for which we shall be indebted to those gentlemen who are good enough to give

us the benefit of that careful research in which they have been engaged for so many years. Amongst them I must mention the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society, and the excellent officers of the society and other members associated with its work. To mention any in particular might seem to court criticism, but the names of Mr. Shore, Mr. Minns, and Mr. Dale anyhow suggest themselves to our grateful notice. The thanks of the members of the Institute, of which our valued friend Sir Henry Howorth is the able President, will be due to those gentlemen who have undertaken to enlighten us from the valuable store of knowledge they possess, and I hope that they will awaken a greater interest in the local as well as the general public for the preservation of the priceless monuments of antiquity which surround us, and so help to preserve them for future generations.

SIR HENRY HOWORTH, President of the Institute, proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor for his reception of the members of the Institute. The vote was seconded by Mr. E. GREEN, and carried unanimously.

Judge BAYLIS then proposed, and Mr. E. W. BRABROOK seconded, a vote of thanks to Lord Montagu for presiding at the meeting. In putting this resolution to the meeting, Sir Henry Howorth referred to the long and intimate connection of Lord Montagu's family with the neighbourhood of Southampton, and Lord Montagu, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, gave some interesting details of his family history, with special reference to Beaulieu.

On the proposal of Lord MONTAGU, seconded by Sir H. HOWORTH, it was resolved to send to His Majesty the King a loyal message of congratulation on his happy recovery from his recent severe illness. This being duly forwarded, the following reply was received on the 29th of July:

“H.M. Yacht *Victoria and Albert*,
“Cowes, 29th July, 1902.

“Dear Lord Montagu,

“I have submitted your letter to the King, and he desires me to ask you to thank from him the President and members of the Royal Archaeological Institute for their expressions of sympathy on the occasion of his illness and for their congratulations on his progress towards recovery.

“Believe me,
“Yours very truly,
KNOLLYS.”

After luncheon at the South Western Hotel, the headquarters for the meeting, the members assembled in St. Michael's Church, where Mr. W. DALE, F.S.A., gave the following account of the history of the building.

The church of St. Michael claims to be the oldest in Southampton. The earliest reference to it is in a charter of Henry II. The Priory of St. Denys was founded by Henry I., who gave land in the district of Portswood for its endowment. This charter was confirmed by Henry II., who conferred upon the Priory the churches of St. Michael, Holy Rood, St. Lawrence and All Saints. They are called “*capellæ*”

or chapels, which would indicate that there was a mother church, probably that of St. Mary, in the district near the Itchen where the Saxon town is said to have been situated. St. Michael's is mentioned first in the gift and must have been regarded as the oldest within the town area. All four churches are mentioned as having been for some time in the gift of the Crown.

Misled by the massive simplicity of the four tower arches, many writers, including Sir Henry Englefield, have considered St. Michael's as originally a Saxon church. It is now, however, generally conceded that the arches in question are of Norman date. A church must have arisen here not long after the conquest, in the centre of the Norman quarter of the town, appropriately dedicated to the patron saint of Normandy. Domesday Book mentions 76 French-born subjects as living in Southampton. The street leading from the church has always been known as French Street, and the parallel street now called High Street was known as English Street.

At the taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291 for the purposes of the last Crusade, St. Michael's was valued at £4 6s. 8d. The church suffered much in 1338, when there was an invasion of the French and part of the town was burnt. Some of the inhabitants took refuge in the church, and blood was shed, so that the church was desecrated and had to be reconciled. It was at this time that the defences of the town were further strengthened, and the arcaded wall, which is such an interesting feature on the western shore, was built.

The earliest entries in the town books have reference to the chimes of this church, which gave the time to the town. In 1456 there is an entry that an official is paid to look after them.

The north chancel aisle was formerly known as the Corporation Chapel. It was here the Mayors were sworn in and the Court Leet held. The vicar of St. Michael's always preached a sermon on the occasion, for which he received a guinea, and it was known as the "swearing sermon." In 1677 a certain Mr. Butler so abused the Corporation that it is entered in the Journal that in future there shall be no swearing sermon, and that the Mayor shall be sworn at which church he pleases. Nevertheless the practice continued until the passing of the Corporation Reform Act.

In this chapel there is on the splay of one of the windows a merchants' mark of the wool traders of Southampton.

The church contains several things of importance. There is a very fine eagle lectern of the middle of the fifteenth century. The font is also of great interest. It is one of a remarkable group of fonts of which there are seven in this country, four of them being in Hampshire, *viz.* at Winchester Cathedral, East Meon, St. Mary Bourne and St. Michael, Southampton. The material is black marble, and they have been exhaustively described by Miss Swann, of Oxford, and by the Dean of Durham, Dr. Kitchin, who have proved conclusively that they came from Tournay, in Belgium, and date from the twelfth century. The ornamentation on the font in St. Michael's Church is almost identical with that on a similar font at Dedermonde, near Ghent. It is thought that these fonts were brought into this country by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester and brother of King Stephen.

In the north-west corner of the nave is a monument to Sir Richard Lyster, whose death and burial in 1552 are recorded in the church

register. The monument is not in its original position, and the inscription, which records that it was erected by his widow fourteen years after his death, has been mutilated in the removal. Up to a comparatively recent date, the monument was said to be that of Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, the mistake probably arising through Sir Richard Lyster having married into the Wriothesley family. It is thought that he lived in the fine Tudor house opposite the church.

On the south wall of the nave an unpretending slate tablet commemorates Bennett Langton, of Langton, in Lincolnshire, who died in 1802. He was a member of the Literary Club and a friend of Dr. Johnson, who said of him, "I do not know who will go to heaven if Bennett Langton does not. I can truly say of him, 'May my soul be with Langton.' The words of Dr. Johnson appear on the slab, "*Sit anima mea cum Langtono.*"

Near the Lyster monument is the ancient stand to which four books were chained—two volumes of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and two of the Assembly's annotations on the Bible. The chains remain, but the books are tied together and placed underneath.

Immediately surrounding the church are several large vaults, dating from Norman times, used for the storage of wine.

Mr. PEERS gave an account of the architectural history of the church, which consists of a short chancel, a central tower, and a nave, with north and south aisles running the whole length of the church from east to west, the general plan being a parallelogram 113 feet by 66, in round numbers. The oldest remaining part is the central tower, which stands somewhat awkwardly between nave and chancel, looking, as indeed it is, too small for its position. It was designed to be the central tower of a cross church with chancel, transepts, and nave, which was no doubt built piecemeal, one part after another being taken in hand and finished in a permanent way, while so much of the church as was necessary for ritual purposes was put up at the beginning of the work in a temporary manner, pending the collection of funds and materials sufficient to complete the whole design. Of this church the tower seems to have been the first part to be built in its permanent form, that is, with stone and mortar. Its style and the details of its masonry point to an early date, not later, probably, than the year 1100. It has three stages, the lowest having in each face a semi-circular arch of a single square order, built, as is all the early part of the tower, of wide-jointed ashlar. There have been strings, now cut away, somewhat below the springing of the four arches. The second or ringing stage has internally a blank arcade of three round-headed arches on each of its four sides, and may have been designed to be seen from below. Externally the north, south, and east faces are plain, but on the west is an arcade like those inside this stage of the tower, which from its position may have been meant to contain the rood between St. Mary and St. John; if so, it is an interesting early instance. The stones forming the sills of this arcade are carved with early-looking diaper patterns in low relief, the only ornamental detail to be seen on the tower. From the roof-marks on this stage it is clear that the original nave roof was higher than those of the transepts and chancel. The third or belfry stage of the tower is almost entirely a

rebuilding of later date, of the fifteenth century, with a stone spire.

The existing nave arcades are not built against the tower, but overlap it on the north and south, and thus the whole west face is exposed to view. It is built of good wide-jointed ashlar masonry, but shows no traces whatever of the bonding in of former nave walls, the masonry courses running without a break throughout. The same thing may be seen on the other faces of the tower where sufficiently exposed, the inference being that at the first building of the tower the nave, transepts, and chancel were not of a kind to require bonding with its walls, or in other words, that they were mainly of timber, temporary structures, destined to be superseded by masonry when circumstances allowed. This took place at no long interval of time, the chancel being built on its present plan about 1120, and though inside the church all features of this date are now obscured by later alterations, the external south-east angle, with its engaged shaft and billet-moulded string, and a certain extent of ashlar walling below the east window, remain in evidence. As in the case of the nave, the side walls of the chancel do not abut on the tower, but overlap it; the reason in this case being to avoid interrupting the services in the temporary chancel, which was probably of the same breadth as the tower, perhaps a little less. The masonry chancel was therefore built round it, and consequently beyond the lines of the tower, and could thus be practically completed before it became necessary to destroy the temporary building. The transepts and nave were then taken in hand, and the whole church must have been completed in a permanent form by about 1140, judging from the walling and buttresses at the west end of the nave. Whether the nave had aisles it is not now possible to say; at any rate St. Michael's was a complete cross church, of ashlar masonry, by the middle of the twelfth century.

The first enlargement of this building seems to have taken place towards the end of the thirteenth century, when chapels were added north and south of the chancel, opening to it by the arches which are to be seen on either side. These chapels were probably of the full width of the transepts, whose eastern walls would be pierced, if not altogether removed, at their erection. A new east window to the chancel was put in about the same time, the rear arch of which remains, and the chancel walls were heightened.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the present north aisle of the nave was built, butting against the north-west angle of the north transept; the west wall of the transept was then taken down, but the north wall was left standing, as may still be seen by the joint in the masonry. The two-light windows in the north aisle, and those of three lights in the north and south walls of the north and south transepts respectively, are of this date, and of very good detail.

It is not clear whether a south aisle was added at this time; the present work is of the fifteenth century, with windows of yet later date. The two eastern chapels were remodelled in the fifteenth century, if not rebuilt, and the three east windows of the church inserted. The wide blocked four-centred arch in the south wall of the south chapel is of the sixteenth century, and must have given access to some building now destroyed, perhaps a vestry.

The present nave arcades are of the early nineteenth century, and quite unworthy of the church.

In the north chapel is a very interesting and early effigy of an ecclesiastic in mass vestments.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE called attention to the black marble font, and remarked that the under side of the bowl showed evidences of having been exposed to the weather.

By the courtesy of the vicar, the Rev. J. W. Danbury, the church plate was exhibited for inspection. A beautiful Elizabethan tazza was specially noticeable, an illustrated account of which, by the Rev. E. H. Goddard, is printed at p. 326 of the *Journal*.

Leaving the church, the members walked to the Bargate, where in the Guildhall chamber the Rev. G. W. MINNS gave some account of the history of the building, which contains work of several dates from the middle of the twelfth century onwards. The south side, towards the town, is of the fourteenth century, the north side of the fifteenth.

Mr. R. M. D. LUCAS exhibited drawings of his proposals for enlarging the side archways, now used for foot passengers, in order to make them wide enough to be practicable for wheeled traffic, and thus to avoid the constant blocking which occurs at present by reason of the narrowness of the central archway, which is only just capable, even after the sacrifice of the inner order of the central twelfth century gateway, of allowing the passage of the electric trams. A proposal was made some years ago by the Corporation to destroy the Bargate for the convenience of the traffic, but the widespread opposition to this scheme has till the present time averted so disastrous a remedy, though all danger cannot be said to be past till some alternative plan has been actually adopted. The best solution of the difficulty, in the opinion of many of the members of the Institute, was to make a roadway round the gate, as has been done round the West Gate at Canterbury; failing this, to adopt some such plan as that shown by Mr. Lucas.

On leaving the Bargate, the members walked along the line of the walls westward and along the western shore, passing the Arundel and Catchcold towers. The first stop was made at the fine vaulted chamber north of the watergate of the outer baily of the castle. It is 55 feet long by 19 feet 6 inches wide, and has a barrel vault finished in plaster which retains marks of the rough wooden centering used in its construction, and of the wrought stone transverse ribs which were built at intervals throughout its length, springing from carved corbels, some of which still remain. The room was originally entered from the land side by a passage at its north end, and was a place of storage, no doubt a wine-cellar for the most part. The town abounds in vaulted cellars for the storage of wine, some of them being of the twelfth century.

The clearance now in progress of a considerable area within the town walls at this point has brought to light a length of the southern wall of the outer baily of the castle, its date being about 1150. It is unfortunately in very shaky condition, but a general wish was expressed that all possible steps should be taken to ensure its preservation. So little remains of the castle of Southampton that every fragment is of value.

From this point the party divided, one half going to the vault in

Simmel Street, the other along the line of the walls to the Blue Anchor postern and the twelfth century house known as "King John's Palace." The Simmel Street vault is a very fine specimen, of two bays with ribbed vaults springing from well moulded corbels, and having a good hooded fireplace at its east end. It was not a mere cellar, but a living room, and had a window towards Simmel Street in its eastern bay. Its date is the first half of the fourteenth century. "King John's Palace" is an excellent specimen of a twelfth century house, owing its preservation chiefly to the fact that its west wall formed part of the town wall. It was only one of several houses of this date, which lined the town wall between this point and the now destroyed Biddlesgate. Their windows and doorways are to be seen blocked up in the wall, and must have materially weakened the defences of the town. Probably when they were built the sea was thought to be a sufficient protection, but the many attacks of the French in the next two centuries showed the necessity for stronger defences, and the arches which form so picturesque a feature were built along the outer face of the wall towards the end of the fourteenth century.

By the kind permission of Mr. Spranger, the owner of "King John's Palace" and the fine Tudor house which faces on to St. Michael's Square, the latter was next visited. It has undergone a good deal of repair, but contains much that is of interest, notably a hall with a wide fireplace (partly modern) and screens and gallery at the north end.

The West Gate next claimed attention, and the interesting wooden two-storey building south of it, now known as the "guard-room," which has an open timber roof with cambered tie beams and arched wind-braces, and retains in places the wattle and daub filling of its outer walls. It has been carefully repaired of late years, through the exertions of local antiquaries.

The section of wall immediately to the south of the "guard-room" shows signs of failure, and should be attended to as soon as possible.

The Woolhouse, at the corner of Bugle Street, a fourteenth century building with massive semi-circular buttresses on its west side, was next visited. It contains no traces of ancient fittings, but its upper storey bears marks of having been used as a place of confinement for French prisoners during the Napoleonic wars. Its front towards the harbour has been remodelled in the eighteenth century.

Nothing remains of the South or Water Gate, which crossed the lower end of the High Street, but a piece of its western drum tower, now used as part of the Castle Hotel. A little to the west of it, in Porter's Lane, is a fragment of a twelfth century house, known as "Canute's Palace." Only the front wall remains, showing a central doorway to the street, with two windows on an upper floor.

The last places to be visited were the ancient hospital known as God's House, of which the chapel and entrance gateways remain, though practically rebuilt in the course of a very severe "restoration" some thirty years ago, and God's House Gate, at the south-western angle of the walls, flanked to the north by the spur work called God's House Tower, which guarded the sea end of the Town Ditch. From this point the members returned to the South Western Hotel.

At the evening meeting, held in the hotel, the Dean of Winchester being in the chair, Mr. W. DALE, F.S.A., exhibited and remarked on an excellent collection of prehistoric implements, found in the neighbourhood of Southampton, consisting of palaeolithic and neolithic flint weapons and tools, with two celts of diorite and greenstone respectively, and a bronze leaf-shaped sword, a celt, and several palstaves, which had formed part of a hoard of over forty found at Pear Tree Green. Dr. Munro afterwards commented on some of the most important specimens in Mr. Dale's collection.

Mr. E. GREEN, F.S.A., read a paper on *Clausentum*. After a few remarks on the site, now known as Bitterne, a short history of the finds made was given. Going back to Roman times, he spoke of the arrival of Claudius and a large force, which resulted in the settlement of harbours on the coast from Richborough to *Clausentum*, and a line of camps from the Thames to the Severn, enclosing the rich western district. With the fleet was established the *Classis Britannica* or British fleet to guard the narrow seas. So entirely has this fleet been overlooked that in Smith's *Dictionary of Roman Antiquities* it is not even mentioned. A list of inscribed stones found was included, the finds extending from Britain to Arles. The coins of Carausius found at *Clausentum* and supposed to have been minted there cannot be accepted. Tetricus and Carausius favoured the place, and Agricola landed there on his march to the Severn. The question of tin and lead mining and the exportations from *Clausentum* were particularly noticed. The tin came chiefly from Devonshire, not much from Cornwall. *Clausentum* shows no sign of a military character, and not much even of a civilian residential occupation. It seems simply to have been a large and well protected depôt for the export of western produce. At *Clausentum* began the Ikenield Street, directly enclosing the rich western district, in which peace and prosperity must have reigned for four hundred years.

Wednesday, July 23rd.

The members left by 9.55 train for Winchester, and on arrival walked to the castle, where in the King's Hall Mr. W. W. PORTAL gave an excellent description of the building and its history, and of the Round Table which hangs on the west wall. The subterranean passages which led from the destroyed Norman keep to the sally-ports in the castle ditches were also inspected. A short carriage drive brought the members to St. Cross, where Mr. JOHN BILSON, F.S.A., gave an account of the history and buildings of the hospital, as follows:

The Hospital of St. Cross has three special claims on our attention—it is the most ancient charitable institution in the country, having a continuous history of more than seven centuries and a half; it has perhaps the most beautiful group of mediæval buildings which remains to us; and it possesses a church the quire of which is certainly one of the most interesting and remarkable specimens of transitional work of the twelfth century.

It was founded by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester (1129–1171), nephew of King Henry I. and brother of Stephen,

and one of the foremost men of his time. He was educated in the Abbey of Chuny, and brought to England and made Abbot of Glastonbury by Henry I. in 1126. Three years afterwards, when he was not more than twenty-eight years old, he was made Bishop of Winchester.

The date of the foundation of the hospital is generally given as 1136. But in a letter to Pope Adrian, the Bishop writes that "within three years of his promotion to the see, outside the walls of Winchester he had instituted houses of Christ's poor and other benefits, by the counsel of King Henry I.," *i.e.* not later than 1132. In 1137 Innocent II. took under apostolic protection and confirmed the possessions of the "hospital house without the walls of Winchester made by" the Bishop, and "the church of St. Cross." Before 1144, when the gift was confirmed by Pope Lucius, the Bishop had endowed it with thirteen churches, the tithes of the episcopal manor of Waltham, and certain rents in Winchester. About 1151 he vested "the hospital of Christ's poor outside the walls of Winchester, which he had constituted anew for the health of his soul and his predecessors' and the Kings' of England, in Raymund the Prior and the brethren of the hospital of Jerusalem." The foundation was for a prior and thirteen poor men, weak and so reduced in strength that hardly ever or never can they support themselves without the assistance of another. Beside them, one hundred other honest poor, of the more indigent sort, were to be given a free dinner every day.

The condition of the hospital at the end of the fourteenth century is well illustrated by an account of the proceedings taken by William of Wykeham (1367-1404) against the master, Roger of Clun or Clowne, who refused to render accounts, embezzled the revenues, and allowed the buildings to fall into decay. The great hall was reduced to its bare walls, as was the great stable by the gate, the "clerkenhouse" was pulled down, and the church roof threatened to fall. The hundred-men hall had been taken from the hundred men, and they were set to dine in a hovel outside the gate. The staff consisted of a warden or master, four priests, thirteen secular clerks, and a number of choristers varying from two to seven.

Clowne was removed, and John of Campden put in his place. The building work done in his time will be mentioned later.

Cardinal Beaufort (1405-1447) designed a new foundation here, to be called the Almshouse of Noble Poverty, for two priests, thirty-five brethren, and three sisters, but this was not completed; in letters patent to his successor, Waynflete, it is stated that no such almshouse was ever established. In 1546 the establishment consisted of a master, thirteen brethren, six priests, six clerks, and six choristers. There were often not more than six or seven brethren in the hospital.

Of the buildings of the twelfth century hospital, the church and sacristy alone survive. The room called the sacristy, on the south side of the south transept, is covered with a ribbed quadripartite vault, without wall-ribs, and with semi-circular wall-cells. On the north side the vault is not complete, but is interrupted by the later wall of the south transept. This vault is decidedly earlier than the vaults of the church itself, and the sacristy is probably of a date closely following the foundation of the hospital.

The church is cruciform in plan, having a total internal length of 125 feet, and breadth across the transepts of 115 feet. It is vaulted throughout, and has a tower over the crossing. The shortness of the building gives an effect of great height.

The quire is the earliest part of the church, and was begun from the east. It was set out by dividing the total internal width into four equal parts, giving the centres of the piers, so that the aisles are oblong east to west. The aisle vaulting shafts are pilasters flanked by shafts which take the diagonal ribs, and a keeled shaft corbelled out takes the transverse rib. The transverse ribs are pointed and stilted, with a square section; the diagonals, except in the east bay of the north aisle, are enriched with zigzags on the edges and lozenges on the soffit. In the east bay of the north aisle the diagonals have respectively a zigzag between two rolls, and a roll between zigzags. The wall ribs are of square section and slight projection. A cross section of the quire shows its proportions as two squares from the plinth level to the crown of the vault, the middle point being the triforium string. The ground storey has responds with angle shafts and a keeled shaft, and obtusely pointed arches of two orders, the inner square edged, the outer moulded; the triforium is composed of low intersecting arches, and the clerestory has a single round-headed window in each bay. The vault is quadripartite, with pointed transverse ribs of two orders, springing from a triple vaulting shaft, the centre shaft being keeled; the diagonals spring from the side shafts, and the wall rib is square-edged as in the aisles. The vaulting shafts are splayed off in the spandril of the main arcade, a curious but apparently original arrangement. In the splay corbel on the north side is a chase for a beam, which if the altar was placed at one bay's distance from the east end would be the beam over the reredos.

The vault of the eastern bay has an intermediate rib, springing from a central vaulting shaft on the east wall, an arrangement which is not uncommon in some small vaulted chancels in Normandy.

The crossing piers have shafts to take the diagonal ribs of the quire and transept vaults, and other shafts for the outer order of the crossing arches. The inner orders spring from triple shafts on the eastern piers, and single on the western, all being corbelled out. At each internal angle is a shaft to take the diagonals of the vault over the crossing, which was intended to be at the same level as the quire vaults, so that the lantern would not have been open, as now.

It should be noted that all arcade arches, transverse and wall ribs and the crossing arches are pointed, while all window arches are semicircular. The door, probably original, to the north aisle of the quire also has a pointed arch. All the vaults have the filling laid in courses parallel with the ridge.

The quire is an early example of the arrangement of a square east end with a high gable; this is a feature very rarely found in aisled quires from the Conquest to this time, and I think that Cistercian influence probably had more to do with the introduction of square east ends to the larger churches than the English tradition to which they are generally attributed. The design is a repetition of the usual form of transept end, and with its great flanking turrets is the forerunner of many noble fronts of later times.

I have described this quire in detail, because it is of the greatest possible interest as a landmark of the English transition, and because I think its history has been obscured. When the Institute visited St. Cross in 1845 Mr. Freeman read a paper, printed in the Winchester volume, in which he said that there were two dates in the eastern part of the church, only the lower parts of the walls being the work of Henry de Blois. Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Parker are said to have agreed with him, but I believe that this view is quite erroneous. It seems to be based on the apparent necessity of attributing some part of the church to the time of the foundation of the hospital, and on the simpler character of the windows of the aisles and lower part of the east end, as compared with the shafted windows of the upper part.

I cannot think that the "church of St. Cross" mentioned in 1137 can possibly be the present structure. Even if detail alone be considered, we find that the plinth of the external walls and buttresses has a moulding clearly of the same character and date as the plinth of the arcade piers, and as clearly of a later date than 1137. It is natural that the upper parts of the quire should be slightly more developed than the lower, but there can be very little difference of date.

But the most important point to note is that the plan of the quire is a perfectly complete and consistent whole, which can only be interpreted by the motive of the vaulting, which governs it entirely. It is a logical design for a stone-vaulted church. This, of course, is no bar to a date as early as 1137, for, as I have elsewhere tried to prove, Anglo-Norman builders had constructed ribbed vaults long before this time. But their earliest efforts in rib-vaulting are with the semi-circular arch alone, and here all arches connected with the vaulting are pointed. France, that is, the Ile de France or Royal Domain, began later, but used the pointed arch almost from the first. Much of what has been written on the question of French influence in England has been coloured by national prejudice, as for instance when Mr. Parker argued for the English invention of Gothic, or when an American professor tells us that there is no real Gothic in England at all. Even Mr. Prior seems too anxious to deny French influence. That French architecture did influence England in the middle of the twelfth century is, I think, undeniable, just as it is impossible to deny that Cistercian influence from Burgundy had much to do with the introduction of the pointed arch into northern England. I do not, of course, suggest that English work of the middle of the twelfth century is simply a copy of French work. It is a parallel development, influenced to some extent by the more advanced work of the Ile de France. The quire of St. Cross is an excellent instance in point; the character of its design is English enough, but there are features which would suggest that its builders knew something of what was being done in the Ile de France. Such are the stilted unmoulded arches, the sections of the vault-ribs, and the foliated capitals, and especially the use of the pointed arch in connection with the vaults. Something of this may be due to Normandy, but Normandy and England were slow to adopt the pointed arch at the time when it was being systematically used in the quire of St. Denis (1140-1144). St. Cross would be even more valuable if we knew its actual date, but I

doubt whether any part of the quire can safely be put earlier than 1160.

The order of building of the church is somewhat as follows: First, the quire and its aisles, the crossing piers, and the ground story of the east and north sides of the north transept. Perhaps also the lower parts of the south transept walls. Next, the upper parts of the transepts, the eastern bay of the nave arcades and south aisle, and the two eastern bays of the north aisle. The upper part and vault of the north transept, in which the windows have become pointed, and the vault ribs seem to be in single stones at the springing, are a little later than the corresponding parts of the south transept. Then comes the rest of the nave with the north porch and the lower part of the west end, which takes us well into the thirteenth century. The structure of the upper part of the tower is of the thirteenth century. For later developments MS. evidence is available.

William of Edington, *custos sive magister* 1334-1345, made and glazed the clerestory windows of the nave, and roofed the church with lead, which before had been covered with straw. He made two pinnacles at the west part of the church and covered them with lead. The triforium arches in the two west bays of the nave, with the west window, are his work. As the arms of Wykeham and Beaufort appear on the keys on the vault, it is probable that Edington's work only included the rib-springers, and that the vault itself was not built until later. John of Campden, who was master from 1382 to 1410, did a considerable amount of work in the church. In 1383-5 he renewed and repaired the campanile of St. Cross and the roof of the chancel, and two roofs of aisles on either side, which through weakness and age were ruined and down. In the tower he made and glazed eight windows above the ceiling (*i.e.* in the belfry stage), and eight windows below (*i.e.* the long windows, two on each face of the tower, on either side of the roofs). In the quire on the north and south sides he made and glazed sixteen windows in the lower part under the vault, *i.e.* he lowered the aisle roofs and glazed the triforium openings. He made two new doors to the entrance to the church from the cloister, also stalls, seats, and forms in the quire, and a picture in the reedos.

Dates of other works executed by him are given as follows:

1385. Alabaster high altar, consecrated 1386.

1388. Enclosure of a chapel to form a vestry. Two stone columns in the chancel. These were octagonal, and remained till Butterfield's alterations.

1390. The Chapel of our Lady enclosed with desks and forms, and desks for thirteen brethren. *Presbyterium (i.e. the sedilia) juxta altare perfectum fuit.* The church with chapels and aisles paved. [There still remain tiles of an earlier (thirteenth century) date than this.]

There are records of the dedications of various altars. In the south transept the altar next the sacristy was dedicated in 1387 in honour of St. Ursula and her 11,000 virgins, St. Sithe, and St. Stephen. The altar of St. Thomas of Canterbury was also in this transept, and its position is marked by a painting (thirteenth century) of his martyrdom. Other altars were St. Katherine's, St. John Baptist's, St. John

Evangelist's, and our Lady's. The *mensa* of the high altar is ancient, as is a part of an altar in the south quire aisle.

Of the fittings, the sixteenth century woodwork in the south quire aisle should be noted. It is probably French work. A little fifteenth century glass remains in the north transept. In the west crossing piers are marks of the rood loft and beam.

The cloister was placed in the angle of the south transept and quire, extending beyond the quire aisle to the east. Its doorway to the church, the so-called "Triple Arch," owes its peculiar form to the fact that being in the east wall of the south transept, it was placed as far as possible to the north to avoid an altar. It is now partly filled up by cupboards of later date.

The hospital buildings are grouped round an outer and an inner quadrangle. In the outer court the so-called "hundred-men's hall" is on the east, the kitchen and offices on the west, and the gateway tower on the south. The gateway is vaulted, and it is to be noted that, as at the inner gateway of Winchester College, the liernes and diagonals differ in section.

To the east of the gateway is the porter's lodge, to west the hall, which has a fine open roof, with screens and a gallery over, and stands on vaulted cellars. The hall porch has a stone vault with the arms of Cardinal Beaufort on the keystone. They also occur on the north face of the great gateway, and in the windows of the hall. The central hearth in the hall remains.

From the porter's lodge to the church runs an ambulatory with gallery over, in part the work of Henry Compton, afterwards Bishop of London (late seventeenth century). The houses of the brethren take up the west side of the inner court, and the north side up to the west end of the hall. A range on the south, adjoining the south-west angle of the church, was destroyed in 1789. Including this destroyed south range, and the rooms which have been converted into a house for the master, there were forty sets of rooms in all, each having a living-room, bedroom and pantry. The latrines are at the back, in pairs, in gabled projections, their channels flushed by the Lockburn.

The following works done to the buildings are recorded:

William of Edington made three rooms opposite the kitchen, and the roof of the hundred-men's hall.

John of Campden made a stone wall with doors from the north part of the church to the *camera* of the warden, which closes the exterior court *ab aula custodis et claustro*.

1386-7. A house of four chambers for the clerks, next the pantry.

1387-8. Cowhouse next the brewery.

1389-90. Stone wall with door, and chamber and latrine on the east side of the kitchen.

1300. Eleven chambers with chapel for the thirteen brethren.

1391-2. Stables and gateway (*porta*) opposite the chamber of the warden.

1392-3. Latrine for three chambers. Stone wall from the said latrine to the kitchen. New chimney in middle of warden's chamber. Two new wooden doors to the great gate.

It has been suggested that these works of Edington and John of

Campden may be connected with the existing buildings. It is true that John of Campden spent a very large sum of money on the domestic buildings of the hospital, but the account of his works reads like a series of reconstructions and additions such as we should expect if he was rebuilding existing buildings which had become dilapidated through neglect. I find it very difficult to identify any of his work with what remains. The buildings on the north and west sides of the court form a complete architectural whole, and, with the destroyed south range, their accommodation agrees very well with Beaufort's scheme, but is too large for the requirements of Campden's time. I am inclined therefore to think it most probable that Campden's works were mainly to the south of the present buildings, as by the evidence of the cloister and sacristy the first buildings clearly were, and that all the existing houses, the hall, and the gateway were built by Beaufort.

The broken ground to the south of the church seems to indicate considerable building on this side, and the exterior court mentioned in the list of John of Campden's work would appear to imply an inner court on the south.

I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Mr. A. F. Leach for the whole of the documentary evidences I have quoted above.

Driving back to Winchester, the members lunched at the George Hotel, and afterwards walked to the college, where they were received at the Outer Gate in College Street by Mr. T. F. KIRBY, F.S.A., the Bursar. He explained that the ancient buildings of the college were erected between the years 1387 and 1394 by Bishop William of Wykeham for the reception of a society consisting of 115 persons, and must be regarded as offering the accommodation thought necessary at that day for a society of that number. The outer court contained the offices, the porter's lodge (which was also the barber's shop), the land-steward's chamber, the bakehouse, the henhouse, the malt and wheat store, the flour mill (worked by horse power), the slaughter-house, and the stables, in which horses were kept for the use of the warden and fellows on their journeys, and for bringing home provisions. All the members of the society, except the lay clerks, were housed in the inner or Chamber Court. Their number was made up of a warden, ten fellows, a schoolmaster, an usher, three chaplains, three lay clerks, seventy scholars, sixteen choristers, and ten commoners or *extranei*. These last were intended to be the sons of gentlemen or men of influence, such as might in after life be of use to the school in which they had been educated. The warden had the room over the Middle Gate, now known as "Election Chamber," and the room above it, for his own use, and a third room in which to entertain visitors. The ten fellows, the schoolmaster, and usher shared four chambers between them, the three chaplains shared a fifth chamber, and the ten commoners a sixth chamber, all on the first floor; while the six chambers on the ground floor were inhabited by the seventy scholars. A seventh chamber on the ground floor was allotted to the choristers. There is no denying that their quarters were crowded. They would also have been damp and unwholesome if washing in them had been allowed; consequently washing-places with leaden basins and baths were provided, one under a penthouse on the west

side of Chamber Court for the scholars, the other between two buttresses on the south side of chapel for the senior members of the society. The chapel, the schoolroom with the dining-hall over it, the kitchen and cellar, and the sacristy with the muniment rooms over it completed the quadrangle of Chamber Court. Although these buildings were admirably suited to their purpose, one could not help admitting their general inferiority to those of New College. This might be explained by a reference to the fact, that when Wykeham began to build at Winchester he had just finished building at New College, and was no doubt anxious to economize, so as to have money left to carry out his great work of converting the nave of Winchester Cathedral from Norman to Gothic. Hence we find the buildings at Winchester not chiefly of stone, as at New College, but of masses of chalk and flint run together with liquid mortar, and no doubt carried up by degrees in layers like a modern mud-wall or concrete building. Only the chapel was of stone throughout—stone chiefly from Quar near Ryde, or from Beer near Seaton, Devon, or Ventnor. Wherever it came from, the stone was landed at St. Denys on the Itchen above Southampton, and carted thence over the downs. The chalk and lime came from St. Giles's Hill, the sand from Otterbourne, and flints from anywhere near Winchester. The bishopric estates yielded the timber—oak and beech.

Originally the chapel was divided into quire and ante-chapel by a rood loft having in it a crucifix of wood flanked by "ymages" of the Virgin Mary and St. John. These of course disappeared at the Reformation. In the Jacobean period the chapel became a comfortable seventeenth century chapel, panelled with oak and seated. All the panelling was swept away in 1875 by Mr. Butterfield, when the chapel was reduced to its present condition. All that now remained of what it was originally was the wooden ceiling with its beautiful fan tracery, imitated in stone at King's College, Cambridge, the stalls in the quire, and some of the original glass in the heads of the windows, the rest having been renewed in 1815–20.

The cloisters were part of the original design, including a graveyard, as at New College, and serving for exercise in wet weather, and for teaching school in hot weather. In fact, the summer term was still termed "cloister time" for this reason. In the middle of the cloisters would be found what does not exist at New College—a little chantry chapel. This chapel, with an admirably lighted book room over it, was built by John Fromond in the year 1429. He was a country gentleman, resident at Sparsholt, near Winchester, and steward of the college manors; and he endowed a chaplain to sing in it masses for the souls of himself and his wife Lucy. After such masses were disallowed, the college ceased to appoint a chaplain, and converted the building into a granary. So it continued until the year 1628, when Warden Pinke of New College converted it into a Fellows' Library. In 1875 it was altered to what it now was—a chapel for the junior boys in the school.

The remaining buildings, the class-rooms, the school library, the memorial buildings, etc. were all modern, and did not appear to need description.

The last item of the day's programme was a visit to Wolvesey Castle, where the members were received by the Mayor of Winchester

and the President and Committee of the Hants Field Club and Archaeological Society, to whom for their courtesy and hospitality the best thanks of the Institute are due.

Mr. N. C. H. NISBETT gave a description of the ruins of the castle, with the help of a plan made by him from excavations and measurements of the site, as follows:

The site of this episcopal residence is situated in the south-east quarter of Winchester, the outer walls of the castle forming a portion of the continuous line of defence which surrounded the city. The spot appears to have been occupied by a house of some importance even in Roman times, as is proved by the discovery of a Roman pavement.

At a later period the Kings of Wessex had their headquarters here, and the early bishops, as royal chaplains, lived with them. Whilst, however, in course of time, the King's dominion was extended, that of the bishop continued to be defined by the limits of the earlier kingdom, which became his diocese. This perhaps explains why Wolvesey in the twelfth century was the palace of the bishop.

The recent examination of the existing ruins proves that they are the remains of the castle built by Henry de Blois, who became Bishop of Winchester in 1129. The positions of the Great Hall, the Keep, Gatehouse, and three of the smaller wall towers are still easily distinguished, and are shown on the accompanying plan together with the other parts of the ruins still standing. All these portions are indicated by straight hatching, whereas those walls of which the position was discovered by means of excavations are distinguished by hatching of a wavy description.

Although many walls have thus been recovered, yet evidences were also found to prove that of some parts of the building not even the foundations remain, and it is to be remembered that not only did Bishop Morley probably utilize much of the old stone for his new house commenced in 1684, but the ruins were used by the inhabitants of the city as a stone quarry either with or without episcopal permission. Evidences of such use are not uncommon when on pulling down old buildings pieces of worked stone are found, which from their architectural features are easily identified as having been brought from Wolvesey.

If, however, the stones of De Blois's castle have, since it became a ruin, been taken and used in other buildings, yet perhaps a more interesting fact is that even a comparatively superficial examination proves that very much of the masonry had been prepared for, and used in, some building *before* Bishop Henry incorporated it in the walls of his twelfth century stronghold.

During the excavations an endeavour was made to determine whence the bishop obtained these materials. They consist very largely of round columns from three to four feet long and vary from five inches to a foot in diameter. Some are formed from a limestone obtained in the Isle of Wight, while others are evidently of some kind of crystalline stone or marble. By far the greater number of these are used as bonders or cross-headers in the walls of flint rubble. In one part three or four are laid side by side to form a lintel over a small opening, and one of these was found to be decorated with a spiral flute of evidently Norman character. This was the only one in

which any evidence of date could be found, as in the majority of instances the columns are built into the solid walls and only their ends are visible, while in the few cases in which the adjacent rubble work is broken away or where portions of similar columns have been found among the *débris* they have been quite plain.

The usually accepted theory to explain the presence of these columns was that they were obtained from the remains of Saxon or even earlier buildings which De Blois found on the site.

In addition to the column referred to, a small stone with surface decoration of a "fish-scale" pattern was found built into an internal wall, and placed upside down.

A stone having a very similar pattern upon it still exists in a piece of Norman masonry in the centre of the city upon the site taken from the monks of the New Minster by William I. as a punishment for supporting Harold, their abbot's nephew, at Hastings.

Here the king provided accommodation for himself and the numerous officials connected with the civil government of his new realm.

These buildings appear to have been destroyed about the year 1102 in one of the fires not uncommon in large towns at that period.

The ruins appear to have been left undisturbed until the early years of Stephen's reign, when his brother the bishop is said to have removed them as being an encroachment upon the land of the church. That he did in some manner use his position as bishop, or legate, to reclaim the site appears to be borne out by the fact that in the year 1150 he granted a portion of the land for the erection of the church of St. Lawrence, which, although much altered, still stands upon the spot.

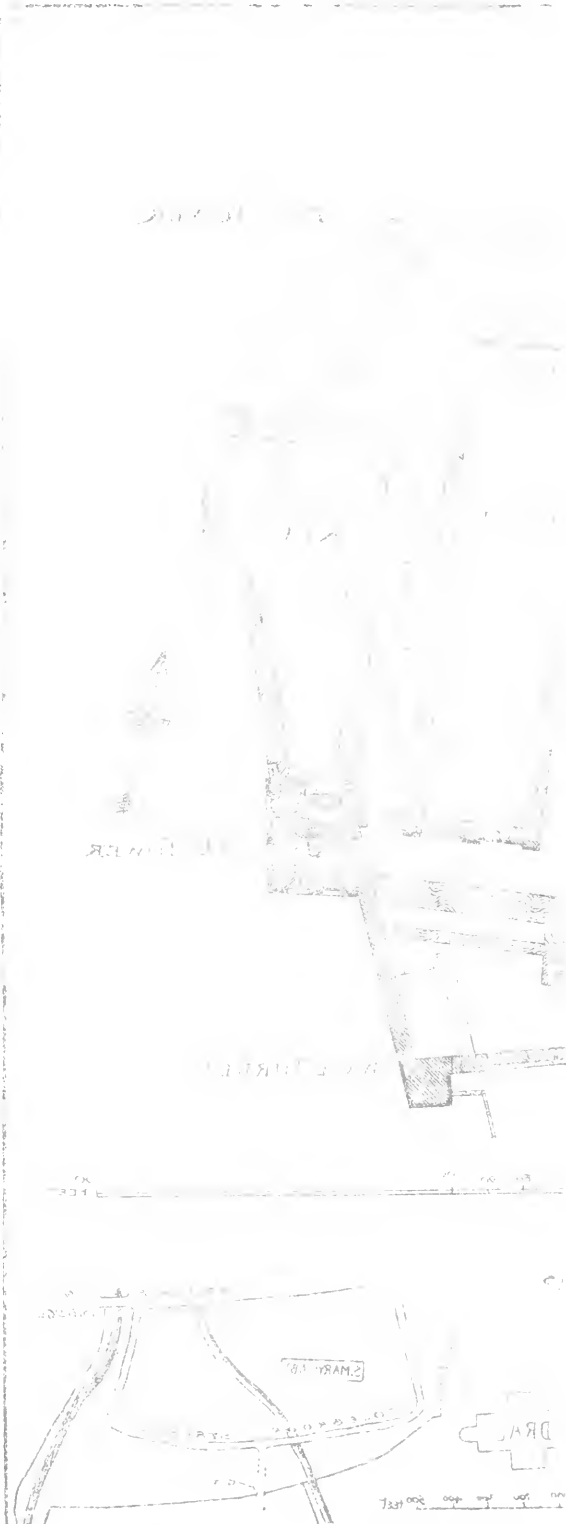
It has already been mentioned that the land upon which the Conqueror placed his new building was taken from the monks of the New Minster. During the episcopate of William Giffard, the predecessor of De Blois, the brethren of this foundation obtained permission to remove their monastery to Hyde, just outside the north gate of the city, and it is an interesting fact that the remains of a few exactly similar columns are still to be seen in the walls of some of the buildings belonging to Hyde Abbey, while several more elaborate ones now in the city museum are said to have been brought from Hyde. It seems not impossible that these columns, like those at Wolvesey, may have been brought from the ruins remaining upon a site which the abbot of the New Minster probably still regarded as the property of his religious house. He would also find already prepared building materials quite as useful in his new church and conventual buildings at Hyde as the bishop did later on in his new castle. It is well known that Henry de Blois was never well disposed towards Hyde Abbey, the revenues of which he appropriated for some years. Is it possible that a quarrel as to the ownership of the land in the middle of the city may have been one of the reasons of his severity?

It should be remembered that Henry de Blois is generally connected with the rebuilding of the episcopal residences of Farnham, Merdon, Bishop's Waltham, and possibly Odiham, and with the exception perhaps of Waltham these were all more or less fortified. His splendid foundation of St. Cross is known to all, while since his niece

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was Abbess of Romsey during his episcopate, he may have had some share in the rebuilding of the abbey there.

A prelate with such propensities for building would hardly take the trouble to remove a quantity of valuable building material without putting it to some practical use, and what is therefore more likely than that he should re-use it in the rebuilding of his official residence in the same city?

The state of anarchy which existed at the time had led to the increase of castle building, and in this connection it will be remembered that although about the year 1139 the bishop is said to have invited to a banquet certain nobles and to have endeavoured to gain their adherence to his brother's cause, yet almost immediately afterwards, when Stephen imprisoned the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln for having erected castles without royal permission, Bishop Henry at once changed front and, on the plea that the prelates could only be tried by an ecclesiastical court, summoned the King to answer for his conduct before a council at Winchester. It seems probable that this council was more likely to be held in the hall of Wolvesey than in that of the royal castle near the West Gate.

The fact of a twelfth century castle possessing a hall not within the walls of the keep is worth notice, and a similar arrangement is met with at Taunton, of which the lordship belonged to the see of Winchester, and where the castle was built by Bishop Giffard.

The next feature to which attention should be directed is the massive south-east tower about 60 feet south of the keep. With the exception of two *garderobe* shafts it is a solid mass of masonry. It shows clear evidences of additions having been made very shortly after its original erection. As first built this tower appears to have only enclosed the northern shaft and was afterwards extended to its present dimensions, but without bonding into the already existing wall on its west side.

Around the top of this tower are the remains of a vaulted passage with loopholes, while upon its eastern face are the stone corbels for the support of a projecting timber gallery or *bretasche*. Similar corbels remain in other parts.

The Winchester annalist says of Wolvesey that it had a very strong tower, but perhaps more to the point is the statement by the writer of the *Gesta Stephani* that after the bishop's conference with the Empress Matilda at Oxford, and the discovery that his confidence had been misplaced, he fled to his house at Winchester, "which he had converted into a strong fortress." May not the strengthening of this most exposed tower have formed part of the works undertaken when he found that hostilities were imminent?

There are remains of a small solid wall turret at the south-east angle, and from this point the old foundations can be traced in a westerly direction until they coincide with the south wall of the chapel of Bishop Morley's palace, which is now used as the Church House for the diocese. It is evident, however, that the chapel existed before Morley's time, as its walls are not bonded into the later ones adjoining, neither is it square with the seventeenth century building, while the old foundations continue in the same straight line for some distance west of the present building. It is possible, therefore, that the chapel is upon a site already consecrated

to such use. At the western end of this line of foundations appear to be the remains of an angle tower, and immediately to the south of it are further traces of massive foundations.

In the space to the east of the chapel are the remains of what appears to be a passage descending to a sallyport, and information as to the result of a previous excavation outside the south wall bears out this theory.

Upon the western side the foundations enclose rectangular spaces, but it is difficult to determine which of these were roofed and which open as courts.

The wall forming the western side of the inner court has the remains of some small flat buttresses and a door jamb.

About the centre of the north side is the gatehouse, which immediately faced an opening in the wall of the castle precincts, giving access to Colebrooke Street, which surrounded the land of the Nun Minster, or St. Mary's Abbey.

The tenant of the market garden between the castle and the precinct wall informed me that when digging in the line between the gatehouse and the old opening to Colebrooke Street masonry and chalk were met with, which may be the remains of some kind of causeway across what must then have been somewhat swampy ground.

The external arch of the gate was a small round Norman one, but within it the thickness of the wall is carried by a pointed vault.

At the north end of the hall, although the greater part of the dressed stone facing has been removed, there are still sufficient remains to show that there was originally a blind arcade of five pointed arches with characteristic Transitional mouldings, while above them the arches of the open arcade by which light was admitted are of semi-circular shape, although evidently of the same date. It will be remembered that at St. Cross the arches of the chancel arcade are pointed, although round-arched work is seen above them.

Upon the same level as the higher arcade was a narrow passage in the thickness of the wall. This passage can be traced at the south-east angle of the hall, where it descends to a lower level, and crossing the end of the open court above a blocked-up arch, gives access to the *garderobe* tower.

The two lines of masonry south of and parallel to the south end of the hall seem to have enclosed a water channel, the sides and bed of which were found in good preservation and covered in with boarding. The contiguity of the *garderobe* tower, and the fact that a well preserved arched outlet still remains in the east face of the curtain wall immediately adjoining this tower, seem to suggest that a stream was carried across from the mill-leet on the west side of the castle precincts. This theory, however, appears to be upset by the fact of the supposed passage to the sallyport cutting across the line of the water-course. Unfortunately the space further west is entirely devoid of any remains which might throw some light on the subject.

The tower seems small when compared with such examples as the White Tower, London, or Rochester Castle, which provided more residential accommodation within their walls. When, however, its dimensions of 53 x 50 feet are compared with other examples it is

found to be of average size. The following are the dimensions of a few square keeps :

Portchester	..	..	65	×	52	feet.
Scarborough	..	..	56	×	56	„
Helmsley	..	..	53	×	53	„
Guildford	..	..	52	×	46	„
Christchurch	..	..	50	×	46	„
Taunton	..	..	50	×	40	„

The Wolvesey keep possessed the usual cross-wall dividing it into two equal parts. One of these was again subdivided by a wall of similar thickness, which evidently enclosed a timber staircase in the north-east angle. The level of the floors can be distinguished, and the stone corbels which carried the intermediate landings are still in position.

It is in the walls of the keep that the old columns are most extensively used as cross-headers. Such construction was common in the East, where it was believed to be the most effective protection against the attack of battering-rams, and when old columns were not obtainable for the purpose, it was not unusual to ornament fortified walls with rows of discs derived from the original use of stone of circular section.

The wall which forms a continuation of the west side of the keep and unites it with the *gardecroce* tower seems to have had an arcade on the upper storey, of which a springing stone can be seen at the south end.

It has already been mentioned that all the foundations uncovered appear to be of the same date, and the general character of the work bears out this conclusion. The stone used is principally that known as Bembridge limestone, from the Isle of Wight, as well as a green sandstone, probably from the same island. The projection of the footing courses varies from 6 to 10 inches, and they are about 9 inches in depth. Each course consists of carefully squared and faced stone, forming a casing to very compact rubble composed of flint and chalk. Above the footings a course of rough slate about half an inch in thickness was very frequently met with. It was in a very imperfect state and in small pieces only, so that the original intention of its use was not very clear. Portions of three or four plain red and yellow tiles were found, but from the patterns upon them they were probably the remains of improvements made during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the fragments of plain green-glazed tiles may be of even later date.

It should be mentioned that Wolvesey was one of the “adulterine” castles the demolition of which was decreed by Henry II. at a council at Bermondsey in 1154, but although the charges for carrying out this order are included in the Pipe Rolls for the year 1155-6, the existing remains and the fact that the bishops lived here until the sixteenth century seem to prove that it was only the distinctly military features that were destroyed.

In conclusion perhaps it is only right to add that although no masonry of a date earlier than the twelfth century was met with in the foundations shown upon the large scale plan, there still exist in

the outer walls near the south-east angle some portions of herring-bone masonry which may perhaps be of Saxon date.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, Sir Henry Howorth returned thanks to those who had so kindly entertained the members of the Institute.

The members then left for Southampton by the 6.44 train.

At the evening meeting, Mr. E. W. BRABROOK in the chair, Mr. W. H. ST. J. HOPE read a paper on "English Fortresses and Castles of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," illustrating his remarks with lantern slides. The paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

Mr. A. E. HUPP, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer of the Caerwent Exploration Fund, exhibited some photographs of a carved stone-head recently found at Caerwent, supposed to have formed a portion of a Celtic god, and a drawing of the supposed "shrine" found within a few yards of the same spot, a short distance south of the Roman road, the so called *Via Julia*, which passed through *Venta Silurum* from east to west on the way from Gloucester (*Glerum*) to Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*), remains of which had been excavated by the Fund. The "shrine" will be described in the next volume of *Archæologia*, with an illustration of the god. The remains, Mr. Hudd thought, probably dated from quite the end of the fifth century, and were interesting as indicating a revival of paganism after the Roman withdrawal from *Venta*.

Dr. MUNRO said he thought it probable, judging from the photographs, that the sculpture of the head was not much earlier than A.D. 500. It was of great interest, and he hoped more remains of the same little known period might be found at Caerwent.

Thursday, July 24th.

The members left for Portchester by the 9.55 train, arriving at the castle about 11.0.

As the tide was low, it was possible to walk round the line of the walls of the Roman fortress, Mr. HOPE acting as guide. After completing the circuit of the walls, the enclosure was entered by the west gate, and the church of St. Mary inspected, the vicar, the Rev. J. D. HENDERSON, giving the following description :

The present church, which may have taken the place of an earlier Saxon church, though there is no direct evidence of this, is built within the walls of the old Roman fort, and was founded by Henry I. whose charter bears the date 1133. He gives "to God and to the Church of St. Mary of Portcestre and to the Canons regular of the order of St. Augustine serving there, the Church founded by him with the land and tithes and all things pertaining to the Church," etc.

Between the years 1145 and 1153 the priory was removed to Southwick, doubtless on account of the proximity of the royal castle. The removal is fixed by two bulls of Pope Eugenius III. (1145-1153), the first of which is addressed to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary at Portchester, the second to the same at Southwick.

Of history connected with the church there are only two facts :

An order of King John (1213) directing John de Montibus, the

constable, to hand over to John de Gravelines the *petrariae* and mangonels that are in the church of Portchester and to see them carried to the ships to which they are assigned.

A petition (1705) sent to Queen Anne from the parish "Humbly sheweth that the Parish Church in the late war, being by Your Royal Unele, our late Sovereign King Charles II., made use of together with the Castle of Portchester for securing prisoners of war, was by their means set on fire and the greatest part ruined."

The church was originally cruciform, but is now shorn of its south transept. The chancel and north-east chapel have been ruined, otherwise the church is practically as it left the Norman builders' hands.

The font is an interesting specimen of early work in Caen stone, the base being a restoration. The original base was in existence in 1845. The *Archaeological Journal* of that date describes it as having "an intersecting arcade all round and on one side a curious and valuable sculpture of the Baptism of Christ."

The windows on the south of the nave have been blocked up some 2 feet to allow for the roof of the cloisters outside.

Between the two last windows to the east and also in the walls abutting on the tower arch may be seen the marks where the beams of the rood loft have been fixed, and on the north a small square window has been inserted to give light to an altar against the screen.

At the restoration of the church in 1888 some twenty carved oak bench ends were found built into the square deal pews. They are probably fifteenth century work and formed part of the seating of the nave before the fire in 1665.

The arcading in the chancel and north transept is without any ornament and was probably left unfinished owing to the early removal of the priory to Southwick. The east wall of the chancel, with its window, was rebuilt in Elizabeth's reign, probably by Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Groom Porter to the Queen, who was buried in the church in 1620. The arms of Elizabeth, dated 1577, hang on the south wall of the nave.

The west front is remarkably good and remains entire and unaltered. The doorway is ornamented with sculptured bands and flanked by twisted columns. Above is an arcade of three richly ornamented arches, the centre one of which is pierced for a window.

On the south side the traces of the conventual buildings can easily be seen. They were almost certainly standing up to the time of the dissolution. The rubble facing of the western part of the north wall of the nave was covered by the western range of buildings. The weather table of the cloister roof runs along under the windows, while in the Roman curtain wall opposite are traces of a fireplace and to the east remains of an arcade of nine arches, which formed part of the *recre-dorter*.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE and Mr. BRAKSPEAR made some additional remarks on the church, after which the buildings of the castle, which occupy the north-west angle of the Roman fortress, were visited, and described by Mr. HOPE. He pointed out that the castle included the whole of the area of the Roman fort, and suggested

that it first came into being after the removal of the priory to Southwick. The existing tower and the precinct wall of the inner ward were the work of Henry I. or Stephen, but the remaining buildings he showed from the account rolls to have been built in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. The chapel, the great chamber, the hall and its porch, the kitchen, etc. dated from the concluding years of the latter king. After luncheon the members drove to Titchfield, where the chief features of the parish church and the tombs of the Wriothesley family were pointed out by the Rev. R. A. R. WHITE, the vicar.

Mr. PEERS called attention to the western tower, the lower part of which he claimed as Saxon work of fairly early date, as it was evident from the position of a blocked circular window in the west wall of the nave that the tower had formerly been much lower than it was at present, and more in the nature of a porch, such as is found in some of the early Saxon churches. The south-west angle of the original nave remained, with a tripleacing course of Roman brick at about 12 feet from the ground, which also ran round the three exposed sides of the tower. The western arch of the tower was original, though it had been tampered with, and the eastern arch had been replaced by a fine doorway to the nave, of the middle of the twelfth century. The development of the church had been that in the twelfth century a south aisle was added to the nave; the chancel rebuilt, lengthened and widened in the thirteenth; a large south chapel added to it in the fourteenth; and the north aisle of the nave built in the fifteenth. In the church porch, the ground storey of the western tower, the vicar had kindly placed a case containing a collection of prehistoric implements of stone and metal, mostly found in the immediate neighbourhood.

A short drive brought the members to Titchfield Place House, the ruined but still stately mansion built by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England, about 1539, incorporating the remains of the abbey of Premonstratensian Canons, founded here in 1231, as a daughter house of Halesowen in Shropshire. The Rev. G. W. MINNS, F.S.A., gave an account, dealing chiefly with the various owners of the Place, who were, successively, the Earls of Southampton, the Earls of Gainsborough, the Dukes of Portland and Beaufort, and the Delmé family, by whom the buildings were dismantled in 1781, and further destroyed about 1790, since which time they have remained exposed to the ravages of weather and the ivy. Sufficient, however, is left to show the general plan of the monastic buildings, which are of the thirteenth century and consisted of a cruciform aisleless vaulted church with central tower, having a cloister on the north side with chapter-house and dorter on the east, frater and possibly kitchen on the north, and cellarer's range on the west. The site of the infirmary is not known. When Wriothesley converted the abbey into a house for himself he planted a square gatehouse with corner turrets across the middle of the nave of the church, pulling down the tower and south transept to make a symmetrical front to his mansion. The frater became his hall, and the other buildings were mostly adapted to domestic uses, and seem to have been standing in a fair state of preservation till the latter years of the eighteenth century.

The return journey was by carriage to Fareham station, and thence by train to Southampton.

In the evening a conversazione was held at the Hartley University College, by invitation of the Mayor of Southampton and the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society. The maces, seals, etc. of the town of Southampton were exhibited, and an interesting collection of ancient documents and records.

Friday, July 25th.

In the morning the members visited the well-known ruins of the Cistercian abbey of Netley, founded 1239. Mr. MICKLETHWAITE described the buildings, with an account of the Cistercian order and of the daily life of the monks.

He also called attention to the masses of ivy which conceal so much of the detail of the building, and it was resolved, on the suggestion of the President, that the attention of the owner, Mr. Tankerville Chamberlayne, should be called to the growth of the ivy, in the hope that something might be done to keep it within reasonable bounds.

After luncheon at Southampton a visit was paid to Romsey, where Mr. E. DORAN WEBB, F.S.A., gave a description of the fine church of the Benedictine nunnery, which, as it stands at present, dates from a general rebuilding begun about 1120, and carried on as far as the third bay of the nave. After an interruption of the work, it was continued about 1180, and after a second break, finally completed westward in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Two chapels east of the presbytery, and the north porch of the nave, with a fifteenth century building extending from this porch to the west wall of the north transept, have been destroyed, but otherwise the church is intact.

Mr. PEERS gave an account of the foundations of an apse lately discovered under the central tower, and explained its probable connection with the late Saxon church which preceded the present building. Mr. BILSON also contributed some remarks on the architectural features and methods of vaulting employed.

On leaving the church the members walked through the town to Broadlands, where they were most kindly received and entertained by the Right Hon. Evelyn Ashley (one of the Vice-Presidents of the Meeting) and Lady Alice Ashley. Apart from its beautiful surroundings, the collections of pictures and sculpture, and its associations with Lord Palmerston, make the house one of the most interesting in the South of England.

On the return journey, a few members paid a visit to the interesting Place House near Nursling, about four miles due south of Romsey, and were most kindly received by Major de la Salis-Terrière, the owner, who has lately been engaged in replacing the oak panelling of the hall, which had in recent years been removed upstairs, in its original position. The house, which appears to have been built c. 1560, by James Mills, a merchant of Southampton, is of the E type with projecting wings; but the central porch, if it ever existed, has been removed. The first tenant of the present building was James Paget, Esq., and most of the elaborate plaster-work of the

ceilings is of his date. In the dining-room the arms of Paget, Sharington of Lacock (Paget's brother-in-law), Farington, and Mills are to be seen, and a large achievement of the Royal Arms over the fireplace, though this appears to be an insertion of the time of Charles I. The first floor also has plaster ceilings, but of later style, dating perhaps from the time of George I. Above this are considerable remains (now cut up into passages and bedrooms) of the long gallery, so common in houses of this class. Among the arms found here, beyond those mentioned before, are those of Bacon, but the connection of the great Lord Chancellor with the house does not seem to be clearly made out. One very curious feature is the existence in the stairs which give access to the gallery at each end of a central hoist, with doors at the level of each floor, presumably intended for the conveyance of wine, etc. to the long gallery. The whole house forms a very good specimen of a late sixteenth century manor-house.

The return trains from Romsey were nearly an hour late, but Southampton was reached in good time.

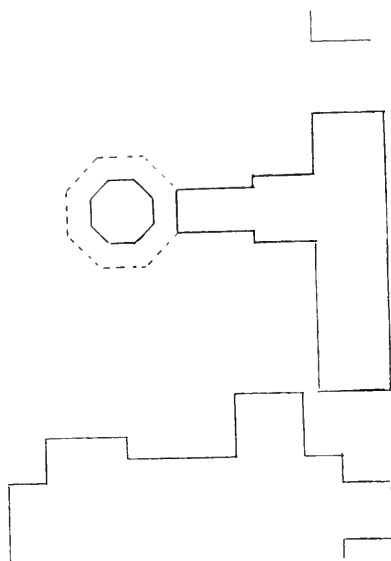
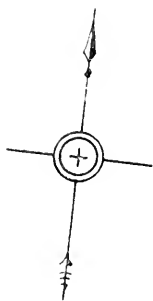
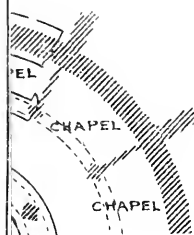
At the evening meeting Mr. W. J. C. MOEKS, F.S.A., read a paper on the New Forest, its afforestation, ancient areas, and ordinances in the time of the Norman kings and their immediate successors, with special reference to the question of the devastation of the New Forest by William I. and his son, and of its previous afforestation, as shown by the evidence of Domesday Book, ancient charters and statutes, and perambulations.

Mr. PERCY STONE, F.S.A., followed with a paper on "The Domestic Architecture of the Isle of Wight from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century," illustrated by a fine series of measured drawings by himself.

Saturday, July 26th.

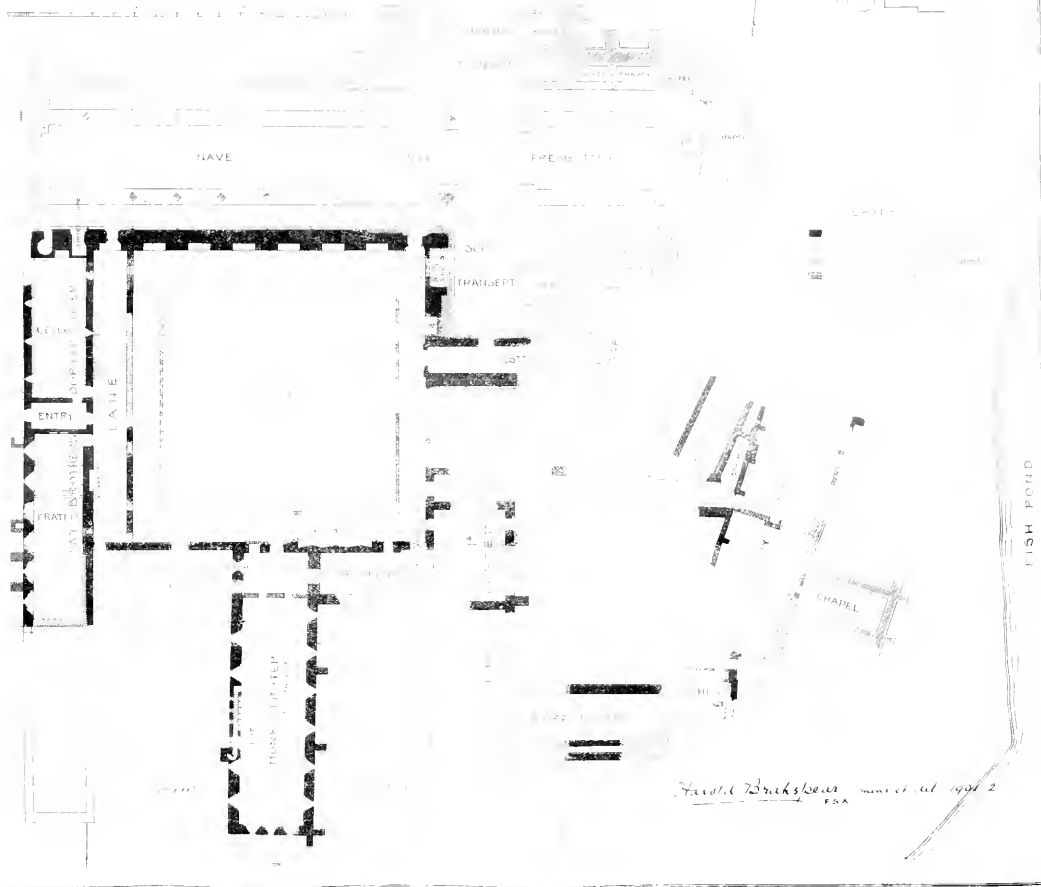
The members started at 9.0 by the steam ferry from the town pier to Hythe, and thence drove to Beaulieu. At Hill Top they were met by Lord Montagu, and a halt was made to examine the thirteenth century conduit house which formerly supplied the abbey with drinking water and is still in use, having lately been cleared out and put in order. Lord Montagu made some remarks on the building, calling attention to its domed vault and shouldered entrance doorway.

On reaching the abbey Mr. BRAKSPEAR, with the aid of the excellent plan here given, which embodies all the results of his late excavations on the site, gave an account of the buildings and their history, drawing attention specially to the remarkable plan of the eastern arm of the church. The best preserved buildings are the western range, containing the lay brothers' frater and dormer, with their night stair to the church, and the monks' frater, standing north and south in accordance with Cistercian custom, and now used as the parish church of Beaulieu. Its fine thirteenth century pulpit for the reader at meals is well known. The hatch from the kitchen, opening into the screens, is in perfect preservation, but of the kitchen itself nothing remains but the north wall, and as its area is included in the present churchyard, no excavation is possible. The length of the monks' dormer is uncertain, for the same reason. The lavatory in the



BEAULIEU ABBE.

GROUND · PLAN



Harold Brooks mens et. 1901 2
FSA

cloister, by the frater door, must have been when perfect one of the very finest examples of its kind. Among the objects found on the site and now placed in part of the lay brothers' frater in the western range are several good grave slabs, and some excellent specimens of paving tiles, probably of local manufacture. By kind permission of Lord Montagu the abbey gatehouse, which now forms part of the Palace House, was visited, and after luncheon in the park, the drive was continued to St. Leonard's, a grange of Beaulieu Abbey, which preserves the remains of a late thirteenth century chapel, and of a magnificent stone barn of about the same date. Mr. BRAKSPEAR again acted as guide here.

The homeward journey was taken, at the suggestion of Lord Montagu, by a somewhat circuitous route, with the object of seeing some of the characteristic forest scenery, and also a few fine specimens of the *tumuli* which are to be found in the neighbourhood. At one of these a halt was made, and Dr. MUNRO gave a very interesting address on the shapes and periods of barrows and *tumuli* and on the races who made them. The carriages reached Hythe in time for the members to have tea before taking the boat to Southampton, which was reached about 6.15.

Monday, July 28th.

This day was devoted to another visit to Winchester, to inspect the cathedral and monastic buildings, under the guidance of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. The party first assembled in the north transept of the cathedral, where, by the aid of a large plan with movable flaps, Mr. HOPE explained the architectural history of the building and the successive changes it had undergone, basing his remarks on the paper written by Professor Willis in 1845. Recent investigation has, however, demonstrated the need for revising the accepted theories, and Mr. Hope showed that in addition to the tower over the crossing the church most probably had a single western tower with side wings, like Ely, instead of the two western towers hitherto assumed. He also claimed that the thirteenth century work at the east end was at least thirty years later than the episcopate of Bishop Godfrey de Lucy (*ob.* 1204), to whom it has long been assigned, and that although the plan was probably Bishop Godfrey's, the only remains of his work were to be seen above the vaults, where there was evidence of three transverse gables on the south side for which no provision existed now below. His corbel table also remained on the north side, but there the aisle had a continuous roof and no gables. Mr. Hope further urged that the ascription of the poor west front and the adjoining bays of aisles to Bishop William of Edington be abandoned, the style being far more in accordance with work known to have been in progress under Bishop William of Wykeham in 1371. The DEAN OF WINCHESTER said that, as regards the west front, he had come to the same conclusion as Mr. Hope, and he was glad to have his opinion confirmed by so high an authority. Mr. Hope afterwards conducted the party over the church. By the kindness of the Dean several of the reliquary chests had been temporarily removed from the side screens of the presbytery and deposited in the space behind the altar, where they were inspected with much interest.

After luncheon at the George Hotel the President of the Meeting, Lord MONTAGU OF BEAULIEU, took his leave of the members of the Institute, he being prevented by other engagements from taking any further part in the proceedings. On the proposal of Sir Henry Howorth a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Lord Montagu for the admirable way in which he had filled the post of President of the Meeting.

At 2.30 the party reassembled outside the north transept, where Mr. PEERS, by the aid of a plan, pointed out the relative positions of the Old Minster, the New Minster, and the "Nunna-minster," and gave his reasons for believing that the predecessor of the present cathedral stood on the north side of the existing nave. Certain foundations that had lately been opened up by himself to the north of the north transept Mr. Peers considered were part of the buildings of the New Minster, erected shortly before its removal to Hyde in 1110.

The party next resumed the perambulation of the church and the remains of the monastic buildings under the guidance of Mr. Hope, and after inspecting the remains of the chapter-house, the kitchen, and the cellarer's building, in the cellar of which is preserved an original thirteenth century table with carved stone legs, proceeded to Dome Alley, a double row of early seventeenth century houses, with ornamental lead gutters and spouting. Mr. Hope gave reasons for assuming that this occupied the site of the monks' infirmary.

Finally, the Deanery, anciently the Prior's house, was reached, and here the Dean of Winchester and Mrs. Stephens hospitably received the members at tea. The Dean also described the leading features of the house; and after inspecting the remains of the great hall, now divided up into the drawing-room, dining-room, and a series of bedrooms above, the party returned to the station *en route* for Southampton.

In the evening the Annual Business Meeting was held, the President, Sir Henry Howorth, in the chair. After the minutes of last year's meeting had been read and confirmed, the Balance Sheet was presented and adopted. The Report of Council for the year 1901-2 was then read, as follows:

The Council has the agreeable duty of presenting the sixtieth annual report of the affairs of the Institute, which show evidence of vitality and progress at all points. The finances show a large augmentation; the cash account for the year ending December, 1901, on the ordinary income and expenditure carries forward a balance of £202 8s., on the credit side, as against £190 12s., of the previous year, besides the sum of £400 deposit with our bankers at interest. All liabilities in the financial year are discharged, and the arrears of subscriptions are very trifling. With regard to the library, the Council is desirous of placing on record the completion of arrangements partly notified at the last annual meeting at Nottingham. The books have been disposed of by presenting to the Society of Antiquaries such works as were not in their library, and by selling the remainder by auction, which realized the sum of £537 12s.; these last were duplicates and odd volumes. This was effected during the earlier part of the current year, therefore it does not appear in the cash account now presented. Nevertheless it is

desirable to mention that the above sum, together with the before-named sum on deposit, with some additional cash, has been invested, and the Institute now holds £1,200 of Metropolitan 2½ per cent. stock, which already stands at an increased value over the purchase cost.

At a result of the above proceedings, the Society of Antiquaries has thanked the Institute, and has accorded to all our members the privilege of consulting and using the very large and important collection of antiquarian and archaeological books in their rooms in Burlington House—the now combined library—at all convenient times equally with the Fellows of the Society.

The office of President becomes vacant at this annual meeting, according to rule 11 of the Articles of Association, and the Council has the honour of nominating Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., for re-election.

The number of new members elected in the year 1901 was 17, and of those removed by usual causes 23, four of whom were life members.

The members of Council retiring are Messrs. Micklethwaite, Stephenson, Knowles, Pearce, Ferguson, and Longden, and it is proposed that Messrs. Ridley Bax, Garraway Rice, Martineau, Hilton Price, and Le Gros be added to the Council, and that Messrs. Micklethwaite and Stephenson be elected Vice-Presidents in place of Messrs. Fox and Cox, whose term of office has expired.

Mr. Fox is proposed as an Honorary Vice-President, in place of Mr. Oldfield, deceased.

The *Journal* contains several important papers read at the monthly meetings, some of which are extensively illustrated, the cost being liberally contributed by the authors. The index is in progress and fairly well advanced.

The re-election of Sir Henry Howorth as President was then proposed, seconded, and carried by acclamation, and the Report of Council was adopted.

The names of candidates for election to the Institute were then handed in, for the decision of the Council.

In the discussion on the place of next year's meeting the following centres were suggested: York, Worcester, Newport, Oxford, and Brittany.

The proceedings then terminated, and the business of the concluding meeting was entered on.

Votes of thanks were given to the President of the Meeting, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, proposed by Sir H. HOWORTH, seconded by Dr. MUNRO; to the Mayors of Winchester and Southampton, proposed by Mr. BRAEBROOK, seconded by Mr. LE GROS; to others who had entertained the Institute, namely, the Hants Field Club, the Very Rev. the Dean of Winchester, the Right Hon. Evelyn Ashley, and the Rev. J. P. Nash, proposed by Judge BAYLIS, seconded by Canon FREER; to the Local Secretaries and Local Committees, proposed by Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, seconded by Mr. LONGDEN; to the guides and readers of papers, proposed by the Rev. T. AUDEN, seconded by Mr. HUBB; to the Director and Meeting Secretary, proposed by the PRESIDENT, seconded by Mr. BELL; and finally to the President of the Institute, proposed by Dr. MUNRO, and seconded by Mr. THOMAS.

The proceedings then terminated.

Tuesday, July 29th.

At 9.25 a special train conveyed the members to Bishop's Waltham, where a visit was paid, under the guidance of Mr. HORE, to the ruins of the ancient palace of the Bishops of Winchester. One of the towers and the foundations of a large hall and an apsidal chapel are the chief remains of the house built here by Bishop Henry de Blois, but the Norman buildings have partly given way to a large hall and kitchen, etc., the work of Bishop William of Wykeham, who died here in 1404. Another range, perhaps a brewhouse and bakehouse, also of the fourteenth century, remains in the outer court, and the whole site is surrounded by an excellent brick wall, the work of Bishop Thomas Langton (*ob.* 1500-1).

The journey was next resumed in carriages to Warnford, where, after luncheon, Mr. HORE described the remains of the early thirteenth century house of the De Ports, consisting of a lofty hall with arcades of three bays, and the battery and kitchen with great chamber above. One of the four original pillars is still standing to its full height of 25 feet, but of the rest one has disappeared and the others have been reduced to a few feet in height, probably on account of the destructive ivy, which has the surviving example in its deadly grip. It was resolved that the attention of the owner be called to the desirability of saving from further destruction the remains of so interesting and unusual a building. The parish church was next visited under the guidance of Mr. MICKLETHWAITE, who called attention to the fine Late Norman tower and the interesting seventeenth century screen and quire fittings, as well as the thirteenth century inscriptions over the south door and on the north wall. That on the north side is as follows:

ADAM DE PORTV BENEDICAT SOLIS AB ORIV
GENS CRUCE SIGNATA PER QVEM SVM SIC RENOVATA.

That over the south door is surmounted by a Saxon sundial, and reads:—

FRATRES ORATE PRECE VESTRA SANCTIFICATE
TEMPLI FACTORES SENIORES ET IUVNIORES.
WILFRID FVNDavit BONVS ADAM ME RENOVAVIT.

The "renovation" mentioned in both inscriptions refers to the nave and chancel, which were rebuilt in the thirteenth century. On the east face of the tower are the marks of the roof of an earlier nave.

The reference to Wilfrid's foundation is of very great interest, and though nothing exists on the spot which can claim to belong to so early a time as his, the stone sundial over the south door is presumptive evidence of the existence of a stone church here in Saxon times.

Corhampton Church, a small and late Saxon building, consisting of a nave and chancel, was next inspected, and explained by Mr. PEERS, who called attention to the pilaster strips, the long and short work at the angles, and the fine north doorway, now blocked. In the chancel is an interesting early stone chair, and there is a fine Saxon sundial in the south wall of the nave.

Mr. MICKLETHWAITE remarked on the altar slab now used as a seat under the fine yew tree in the churchyard, pointing out that it had, in addition to the five usual crosses on the upper face of the slab, a sixth on the centre of the front edge.

On the return of the party to Bishop's Waltham the members were hospitably received at tea by the vicar, the Rev. J. P. Nash, who also explained the chief features of the parish church, which consists of chancel, nave of three bays with north and south aisles, and south-west tower. The north wall of the chancel is probably the earliest part of the church, of the first half of the thirteenth century, and before its late rebuilding the north nave arcade had chalk columns and Isle of Wight stone octagonal capitals of much the same date. The rest of the chancel is of good early fifteenth century work, attributed, in common with so much church work in the neighbourhood, to William of Wykeham. The nave aisles are of considerable interest as very late examples of Gothic work; the tradition is that they were built with stones from a chapel destroyed in 1651, and this date, with the initials of four churchwardens, a number still maintained, is to be seen on a stone in the east wall of the south aisle. The east windows of the aisles have very curious and clumsy copies of fifteenth century details in their tracery. The present tower is a rebuilding after the fall of a former one in 1584. The pulpit is a fine specimen of early seventeenth century date, and has a good tester with characteristic cresting and panelled soffit. By the kindness of the vicar the church plate and registers were brought out for inspection by the members.

The return journey to Southampton was taken by special train. and the proceedings of the meeting concluded.

Extra days in the Isle of Wight.

Wednesday, July 30th.

About forty members and their friends, including the President, took part in these excursions. The headquarters were at Warburton's Hotel, Newport, and all arrangements for the excursions had been made by the local secretary, Mr. PERCY G. STONE, F.S.A. Arriving at Newport about midday, the members were received by the Mayor, Alderman Francis T. Mew, with whom was the Deputy Mayor, Mr. C. Salter, and proceeded to inspect the Corporation maces and documents, which were laid out for their inspection by Mr. Shields, Deputy Town Clerk. The church was next visited, under Mr. Stone's guidance.

After luncheon a drive was taken to Carisbrooke, where the Roman villa was described by Mr. HOPE. A great part of the building has been left exposed to the weather since it was excavated, and has suffered accordingly, and a resolution was adopted, on the proposal of Mr. Hudd, that a representation should be made to those responsible for the care of the Roman villa at Carisbrooke, that means should be taken to preserve it from the weather and general neglect. A headless seated figure in white marble, in the vicarage grounds, attracted considerable attention. It was of good Roman work, though whether from the Worsley

Collection or of local *provenance* seemed uncertain; in any case, its present exposed position was to be deprecated. A visit was then paid to the church, where Mr. STONE gave an account of the building and its history. It is the church of an alien Benedictine priory, a daughter house to the abbey of Lyra, and founded about 1150, and a great part of the building belongs to the date of the foundation or shortly after. The priory was suppressed by Henry V., and its possessions given to his Carthusian foundation of Sheen, and the destruction of the claustral buildings probably took place at this time. In Elizabeth's days the owner of the site was Sir Francis Walsingham, who pulled down the chancel to avoid the expense of repairing it, which would fall on him as lay rector. The west tower was built in 1470, and bears that date on its western face. There is a good pulpit, as usual in the island churches, and part of an early-looking incised grave slab of one of the priors. Its date is perhaps about 1200. The slab in the porch, inscribed *tumba areline passe l'ere*, is interesting from the unusual character of its lettering.

The rest of the day was devoted to the castle, Mr. STONE again acting as guide. The members were most kindly received by the Deputy Governor and Lady Adela Cochrane, who provided tea for them on the conclusion of Mr. Stone's remarks.

The walls and buildings were afterwards inspected in detail, and the question of the date of the earthworks was discussed at length, Mr. Hope maintaining, in opposition to Mr. Stone, that the mound and the two courts were thrown up after the Norman Conquest.

Thursday, July 31st.

Starting at nine o'clock, the members drove along the down, stopping to pay a visit to Arreton manor house and Church, Mr. STONE acting as guide. At the Manor House, a picturesque E-shaped building of the early seventeenth century, Mr. and Mrs. Cawley Way received the members, and conducted them over the house, which is full of good panelling, with carved chimney-pieces in several rooms. A seventeenth century carving of the sacrifice of Isaac, of Dutch style, is worked into a chimney-piece in one of the first floor rooms.

The church is one of great interest. The west wall of the nave is the oldest piece of ecclesiastical building in the Isle of Wight, having a central doorway with window over of late Saxon date, the western quoins of the Saxon aisleless nave being partly visible outside. In the north wall of the chancel is an early twelfth century window, with considerable remains of twelfth century painting on its splayed jambs. The nave arcades and clearstory over (the only clearstory in the island) are of the thirteenth century, the clearstory lights being circular. The finest part of the church is the south-east chapel, a most beautiful piece of thirteenth century work, divided from the chancel by an arcade with slender pillars of Purbeck marble, and capitals and bases of the same. The tracery of the two-light windows is exceedingly good in design.

The drive was continued to Brading, where, after a short visit to the well-known Roman villa, and an open-air luncheon taken, by the

kind permission of the vicar, the Rev. E. Summers, in the Vicarage grounds, the parish church was inspected, the VICAR giving a short account, and calling attention to the Oglander monuments. Mr. MICKLETHWAITE pointed out that the western tower owed the somewhat uncommon feature of open arches in the north and south walls of its ground stage to the fact that its west wall was built on the boundary of the churchyard, leaving no room for a procession path round the west end of the church, and a passage was therefore made through the tower to overcome the difficulty.

Mr. J. H. OGLANDER, F.S.A., gave a very interesting account of the history of Brading, which, from being an outlying part of the manor of Whitfield, grew by reason of its convenience as a harbour to be a prosperous town.

At Yaverland the much restored twelfth century church and the seventeenth century manor house were visited. The latter contains a little good woodwork. The Rev. W. D. French, the vicar, and Mr. Warden, occupier of the manor house, received the members.

The drive was continued through Sandown to Godshill, where, after tea at the Griffin Inn, the picturesquely situated church was described by the vicar, the Rev. P. R. H. Bartlett. The building is mainly of the fourteenth century, and consists of two parallel naves and chancels with a central arcade, north and south transepts, and a west tower. There are several good monuments to the Worsleys and others, and the church plate is of more than ordinary interest.

This being the last item of the day's programme, a hearty vote of thanks was given, on the proposal of the President, to Mr. Stone, for his work in arranging the excellent programme of the last two days. The members then drove back to Newport.

Wednesday, November 5th.

Sir H. HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. W. H. KNOWLES read a paper on "Blanchland Abbey, Northumberland," illustrated by a plan and drawings. The paper is printed at p. 328.

Mr. HOPE remarked on the occurrence of a *piscina* and a screen wall at the west end of the nave of the church, instancing another example at Lilleshull Abbey. The reason for this unusual position of an altar is not clear, and in neither case was any part of the church in which it occurs parochial.

The PRESIDENT and Mr. PEERS also joined in the discussion.

Mr. P. M. JOHNSTON followed with an account of "Some Twelfth Century Paintings, recently discovered in Claverley Church, Shropshire," exhibiting coloured tracings of the subjects. The paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

Mr. C. E. KEYSER agreed with the date assigned by Mr. Johnston to the paintings, about 1160.

Mr. HOPE said that the indications of heraldry in the shields carried by the figures should not be taken seriously, as they were merely decorative details. He also entered a protest against the varnishing of the paintings.

The PRESIDENT thought that the vicar of Claverley was to be

congratulated on the care he had taken of these valuable paintings since their discovery. Referring to the explanation of the subjects as given in the paper, that they represented the exploits of Roger de Montgomery at the battle of Hastings, he pointed out that such a subject in a church was unprecedented, and that there was good reason to suppose that Roger was not present at the battle.

Wednesday, December 3rd.

Sir H. HOWORTH, *President*, in the Chair.

Mr. C. R. PEERS read a paper on "The Benedictine Nunnery of Little Marlow, Bucks.," exhibiting a plan and drawings of many patterns of paving tiles found during the excavation of the site. The paper is printed at p. 307.

Mr. HOPE remarked on the absence of a western entrance to the chapter-house, an unusual feature, but occurring also at Windsor and at the Gilbertine house of Watton.

The PRESIDENT and Mr. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS also spoke.

Mr. F. W. READER read a paper prepared by himself and Mr. KENNARD on "Pile Structures near London Wall." The paper will be printed in the *Journal*.

A large number of objects found on the site were exhibited, of Roman and Romano-British character, and plans and sections on the line of the Wallbrook were also shown.

At the conclusion of the paper, Mr. Kennard gave an account of the evidence to be obtained from the animal and vegetable remains met with in the excavations.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

STORIA DEGLI SCAVI DI ROMA E NOTIZIE DIVERSE INTORNO
LE COLLEZIONI ROMANE D'ANTICHITÀ. RODOLFO LANCIANI.
Volume primo (A. 1000-1530). Roma: Ermanno Loescher & Co., 1902.
pp. iv, 263.

The publication of the first volume of this long-promised work is an event of considerable importance to those who are interested in the archaeology and topography of the city of Rome, and in the history of its buildings and museums.

The purpose of the book is sufficiently indicated by its title. It is a history of excavations in Rome, with notices of the principal collections of antiquities (statues, reliefs, inscriptions, architectural fragments, gems, etc.) The materials for such a history are far more copious than might at first sight seem possible. While the printed literature of the subject is very extensive, the enormous bulk of unpublished and, till lately, unexamined manuscripts and drawings is astounding. Most of the great libraries of Europe contain diaries of travel and codices of inscriptions, ranging from the accounts of their journeyings given by pilgrims of the eighth or ninth centuries to the note-books of archaeologists of the present day.¹

With the fifteenth century we begin to find the sketch-books of artists and architects, who have sought their inspiration in the classical buildings of Rome. Finally, there are the documents preserved in archives, public and private—contracts relating to the sale or excavation or destruction of ancient buildings and remains—and others which have a less direct bearing on the subject, but which often give important information, letters from ambassadors and others, charters, legal instruments of all sorts and kinds. All these sources of knowledge, besides their great intrinsic value, may help us to understand the obscure and vague descriptions of early writers on Roman topography, and the often indistinct mediæval engravings which represent Roman statues and buildings.

That Professor Lanciani has drawn freely from this almost inexhaustible well is shown by the statistics given in his preface of the notes which he has made in preparing the present work. As he says, he has spent twenty-five years already upon it, and might have continued to gather materials for the remainder of his days, but with the risk of losing the fruits of his labours.

Completeness and finality in a matter like this are beyond the resources of a private person, and tax heavily those of a scientific body. Even a monumental work like the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* cannot pretend to rest upon an absolutely exhaustive examination of the literary material available, inasmuch as the very extent of this is not known. My own small experience has shown

¹ Those of De Rossi and Stevenson, may be cited as examples of the which are now in the Vatican Library, latter.

me that England must contain an enormous mass of quite unsuspected treasure of this kind. Even the public libraries have not been thoroughly worked through, still less those belonging to private persons. So that the motto that Professor Lanciani has prefixed to his *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* might serve him here also :

“ . . . Si quid novisti rectius istis (which is somewhat unlikely)
Candidus imperti : si non, his utere mecum.”

The first volume of this work, which is to be followed by four others at intervals of one year, deals with the period between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1530. The order is chronological, but copious indices, the heads of which comprise classical topography, mediæval and modern topography, churches, museums, miscellaneous, and proper names, enable those who desire to study any particular subject to gratify their ambition.

The first excavations that were made in Rome must be dated rather earlier than the beginning of the eleventh century ; for when the bodies of the martyrs began to be transferred from the catacombs to churches within the walls, they were placed under the altars in the marble or alabaster baths which had been in use at the great Roman thermal establishments. The earliest case of this practice occurs in or about A.D. 682, when the bodies of Faustinus, Simplicius, and Viatrix were placed by Pope Leo II. in the church of St. Bibiana, within a basin of oriental alabaster (p. 3), but at the beginning of the ninth century it became frequent.

For ordinary burials marble sarcophagi began, at about the same period, or even earlier, to be in great demand. They were removed from pagan or Christian tombs alike, and after the disposal of the bones of the occupants, were used for fresh burials within or without the churches of the city. Many sarcophagi used in this way have been discovered in the recent excavation of the church of Sta. Maria Antiqua in the Forum.

After the fire of A.D. 1084 the reconstruction of many of the intramural churches became necessary, and an important series of excavations was undertaken to procure materials for this purpose. At the same time the rise of the school of Roman workers in marble which flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and produced the cloisters of the Lateran and St. Paul's, led to further searchings among the ruins of ancient buildings, not only for materials, but for actual models to copy (p. 12 *fin.*).

Sepulchral cippi were in great demand as holy-water stoups, and some may still be seen in use in various churches in Italy, though of a hundred or more that are recorded as having existed in churches in Rome itself, only two or three are still in use.

The wealth of marble that the ruins of classical Rome provided was far greater than was needed for building material in Rome itself, and the export of marble for this purpose, which began with Theodoric (p. 17 *fin.*), became frequent in the eleventh century, and reached such a point that a little after 1258 Richard of Ware brought from Rome the marbles which are used in the decoration of the tomb of Henry III. in Westminster Abbey.

The history of the building of the cathedral of Orvieto, and of

the excavations in and near Rome in order to supply the materials, has been carefully worked out with the aid of documents by Signor Fiumi, and Professor Lanciani is probably right in saying that as much could be done in many other cases. Much marble and travertine also disappeared in the lime-kilns; though limestone is abundant in the neighbourhood of Rome, it was easier to quarry and burn the stone on the spot; and very many lime-kilns have been found among the ruins of ancient buildings. Even statues and inscriptions were not spared.

We see, therefore, that the excavations of this period were carried on merely for the sake of the building material which could be extracted, and not from any love of antiquities or works of art as such. The mediaeval guide-books are a tissue of errors and mistaken identifications. Rienzi was the first Roman of the Middle Ages to interest himself in the glories of the past. De Rossi discovered in 1871 that it is to him that we must attribute almost the earliest collection of copies of the inscriptions, some of which at his time were still to be read (though few took the trouble to do so, and among them certainly not the compilers of the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*) upon classical buildings, while others were actually discovered in his day.

In the fifteenth century, as already remarked, travellers, artists, and architects began to study the ruins of Rome, and their diaries, note-books and sketch-books are often of inestimable value, as representing buildings no longer extant.¹ The majority of these sources of information belong, however, to the period which will be dealt with in Professor Lanciani's second volume, though a few will be found in the present instalment of the history—the epigraphical collections and architectural sketches of Fra Giocondo da Verona, the best of which are preserved at Chatsworth (p. 96) and in the Uffizi at Florence (p. 164), of Giuliano da Sangallo (pp. 181, 209), which have recently been dealt with in full detail by Fabriczy (*Die Handzeichnungen Giuliano's da Sangallo*), and of Giulio Romano (?) (p. 199); also the “excerpta a Pomponio (Laeto) dum inter ambulandum cuidam domino ultramontano reliquias ac ruinas urbis ostenderet” (p. 83), etc.

The printed literature of the subject, which begins in the first years of the sixteenth century, is in some cases equally precious, and is fully discussed—the *Opusculū de mirabilibus nove et veteris Urbis Rome* of Francesco Albertino (p. 167), the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, published by Mazochio in 1521 (p. 201), the *Antiquitates Urbis* of Andrea Fulvio, published in 1527 (p. 229). Hardly any engravings showing views of Rome or illustrating its monuments make their appearance as yet. From the middle of the fifteenth century, in fact, excavations become far more frequent and important, owing to the growth of activity in building, and we begin to find that the popes interested themselves far more than before in the antiquities of Rome. Pius II. in his *Commentaria* has left many important pieces of topographical information; Sixtus IV. was the founder of the Capitoline Museum (p. 76); and though Innocent VIII. was himself not

¹ Views of Rome of an even earlier period are to be found in various forms, e.g. in the backgrounds of frescoes (see De Rossi, *Piante di Roma anteriori al*

secolo xr), but their mode of representation is conventional, only a few of the most prominent buildings being shown.

interested in classical antiquities, his indifference did not avail to check the tendency of the age, which we find developing itself more and more fully in his successors.

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the interest that was felt in the remains of the buildings of ancient Rome did not lead to their preservation. While statues, inscriptions, and architectural fragments were eagerly sought after by collectors (in Fra Giocondo's day there were already *a hundred* collections containing inscriptions, *cf.* p. 100), the buildings to which they belonged were ruthlessly destroyed to provide material for the new edifices which began to spring up from the time of Pius II. onwards; and the very architects who have left us so many carefully measured drawings of the ruins of ancient Rome, were not averse to plundering them if in search of material for their own use. Such was the pass to which matters had come, that in 1515 Raphael was nominated as Commissioner of Antiquities by Leo X. (p. 166), with power to protect from destruction ancient remains, and especially inscriptions; but the only practical result of his tenure of this office was the publication of three books—the *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, the rough plans of Fabio Calvo's *Simulachrum Urbis Romae*, and the *Antiquitates* of Andrea Fulvio. The destruction of ancient monuments went on unchecked, and the only protests were those raised by the municipal authorities of Rome, which were, as a rule ineffectual, the Papal court taking the part of the devastators (p. 197). This did not, however, turn the conservators from their purpose, and we find them in 1526 under Clement VII. condemning the destruction of the "Arch of Trajan" in the region of the Monti (that is, the triumphal arch which stood at the east end of Trajan's forum). and passing a resolution (which had, it is true, no practical result), "*ne alii audeant antiquitates urbis devastare*" (p. 223).¹ The volume closes practically with the sack of Rome in 1527, excavations in the next three years being few and far between.

The circumstances under which this review has been written have excluded the possibility of testing the accuracy of the book in details. There are a certain number of small misprints, many of them fairly obvious; and the indices, though full, might have been made even more complete. Nor is it of any assistance to the general public to know what number a certain engraving bears in Professor Lanciani's collection (p. 155, n. 2); the engraver's name, or a reference to a standard book on engravings, would have been of greater service, especially as the view as to the authorship of the drawing engraved by Niccolo Boldrini and published as a skit on Baccio Bandinelli's copy of the Laocoon group, which Professor Lanciani quotes from the writers of the text to *Real Museo Borbonico*, iii, *tav.* 35, is not supported either by Passavant (*Peintres-Graveurs*, vii, 243, No. 97), or by Meyer (*Künstler-Lexicon*, ii, 672), who attribute the drawing not to Raphael, but to Titian. Bandinelli boasted of his intention to execute this group in 1520 (the year of Raphael's death) but did not actually do so till 1525.

But as a solid contribution to the history of the excavations and

¹ Professor Lanciani's *Destruction of Ancient Rome* is a convenient summary of the story of the destruction of the ancient monuments of the city.

museums of Rome, the book is invaluable; in fact, it is the first time that such a work has been attempted, and by far the greater part of its materials are new to students. It is not exactly a book to read through, still less is it a "popular" treatise; but to anyone who wishes to study scientifically the history of any particular building, to the archaeologist, architect, and historian of art, it cannot fail to be of service; and we cordially hope that the promise given in the preface, that the remaining four volumes shall appear at intervals not exceeding a year, will be maintained.

WITCHCRAFT AND SECOND SIGHT IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND. Tales and traditions collected entirely from oral sources. By the late JOHN GREGORSON CAMPBELL. Glasgow: MacLehose and Sons. 1902. 8vo. pp. xii, 314.

We are glad that the reception given to the previous posthumous volume of the excellent minister of Tirree, of which volume we had the pleasure to express our high appreciation in Vol. LVIII of this journal (p. 364), has been such as to induce the publishers to proceed with the issue of the remainder of the MSS. which Mr. Campbell left behind. The second volume is in no way inferior to the first in interest and evidential value, being based on oral testimony collected during a long series of years by a competent and sympathetic observer, who was at the same time, as his introductory remarks to each chapter show, a level-headed and judicious reasoner.

The belief in witchcraft is a superstition that may be said to be absolutely universal among peoples of every degree of culture from the lowest savagery to the highest civilization; though it is associated in origin with the delusions of paganism, it has never been checked by Christianity, having been supported by mistaken interpretations of Scripture. The witchcraft of the Highlands, as observed by our author, appears to be less repulsive and horrible than that believed in elsewhere. There is no mention of incubi and succubi, of midnight meetings and dances with the devil, of riding through the air on broomsticks or raising the dead, or other horrors. There are tales of witches causing storms and drowning people, of their abstracting milk from cows, and the like. For these purposes and other unhallowed cantrips, they could assume various shapes, those of cats or hares by preference. Some of the tales of what they did must have been told to ridicule people out of belief in them, and only furnish proof of the avidity of man to swallow the incredible. On the other hand, the main business of many old women whom we should call in English white witches, but whom the Highlanders call wise women, was the healing of disease in man and beast by rhymes and charms and the saining of cattle. They would resent the accusation of witchcraft, and are even now resorted to by many people who ought to know better, in the south as well as in the north, for the cure of obscure ailments and other exercises of their supposed powers by means of incantations and rites, of which Mr. Campbell has collected a great number of specimens.

A chapter of the work is devoted to death warnings, in which the excitable and imaginative Celt has a firm belief. Several families and septs have the dignity of a special warning for themselves, as the bull of the Breadalbane family, the bird of the clan Maclachlan, the

whistle of the descendants of black Duncan, and the candle-light of those of little Duncan, both belonging to the MacGregors. Another chapter investigates the phenomena of second sight, the Gaelic name for which literally means the two sights—combining the vision of the world of sense, which all possess, with the additional vision of the world of spirits, which belongs to the gifted few. This vision, which seemed to be external not only to the seer but also to the thing seen, led to the belief in doubles or semblances. As the pretence to it would furnish a powerful weapon of annoyance, Mr. Campbell thought that there were many instances of imposture and design. A person of good character, himself not incredulous, said, "I never knew a truthful, trustworthy man who was a taisher" or possessor of second sight.

Hobgoblins haunt every Highland village. The best protection is a circle drawn round one's self on the ground with the point of a sapling or dirk, saying, "The Cross of Christ be upon us." All the spirits that infest the night may dash in fury against this circle, but they cannot pass it. Mr. Campbell suggested that this circle is the superstitious representative of a person's own integrity, within which he is safe from the attacks and wiles of the devil.

A learned and valuable chapter is devoted to the Celtic year, including the divisions of seasons, the several festivals, and the observances by which they were marked. Details of the New Year fire observances are given, which it would be interesting to correlate with the evidences accumulated by Mr. Gomme in his paper on the subject published in 1896 (*Report of British Association*, pp. 626-656). The third day of summer (14th May) is the "avoiding" day of the year. It was on this day that the fallen angels were expelled from Paradise, and on it people should avoid doing any kind of evil, on pain of judgment without mercy. At p. 297 is a misprint "Venoris" for "Veneris."

SHAKESPEARE'S FAMILY. Being a record of the ancestors and descendants of William Shakespeare, with some account of the Ardens. By Mrs. C. C. STOPES. Elliot Stock. London. 1901. 8vo. pp. vii, 257.

Apologies are due for the tardy appearance of this notice of a work the author of which deserves the highest praise for her indefatigable industry. The subject, it must be confessed, is a somewhat arid one—the great poet's kinsfolk being about as uninteresting a set of people (so far as their doings recorded here are concerned) as could well be imagined. Still, perhaps this fact is not without value for students of the influence of heredity on genius; and it is something to have established it conclusively.

The book is a model of genealogical research, as regards the toilsome collecting of materials and the judicious rejection of tempting theories which lack the support of evidence. Besides making full use of the labours of her predecessors, Halliwell, French, and the rest—and incidentally correcting some of their errors—Mrs. Stopes has ransacked public records, parish registers, county histories, newspapers, etc.; in fact, the references contained in the foot-notes might almost be published as a separate pamphlet with the title "Hints for Genealogists."

The account of the Arden family fills nearly one-third of the volume. Here Mrs. Stopes's caution and critical acumen seem to have forsaken her; for she begins in all seriousness with the romance of Gny of Warwick, which we cannot regard as anything but an irrelevance—albeit a welcome one—in such a work as the present one.

It is incorrect to represent Dugdale, as Mrs. Stopes does on p. 11, as stating that Isabella Asteley (appointed in 1431) was “succeeded” as Prioress of Wroxall by Jocosa Brome, who resigned in 1524. We notice that on p. 49 the poet's birthday is given as April 23rd, as though that were an established fact. On the whole, however, strict accuracy seems to have been striven for with great care; and the book is one which cannot be neglected by students of the family history of the great poet. We are glad to be able to say that there is a satisfactory index.

HOW TO FORM A LIBRARY. By H. B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A. Popular edition. Elliot Stock. 1902. (Book Lover's Library.)
HOW TO MAKE AN INDEX. By the same author. Elliot Stock. 1902. (Book Lover's Library.)

Of the two books before us, the first is a reprint of the first volume of this series, originally published in 1886; the other is the latest issue of these handy and tasteful little volumes. In issuing a reprint of the former it is a pity that the publishers have not thought fit to request the author to bring it up to date; the list of books of reference on all subjects given on p. 91 *ff* is now sadly behind the times, containing as it does perforce no standard works of a later date than 1884. In almost every instance the list could be improved; to take only one example, the heading of “Antiquities,” the latest work bears the date 1875, yet what branch of learning has made greater strides in the last twenty years? Dr. Smith's Dictionary (the old edition) and the works of Professor Becker would now be a very meagre equipment for the study of this subject. And yet the only comprehensive work of any value on British antiquities, Thomas Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, published about fifty years ago, and still most helpful, is omitted! The same remarks apply to the chapter on “Publishing Societies,” which would be invaluable if brought up to date. Otherwise the book is excellent reading, and Mr. Wheatley's extensive bibliographical lore adds much to its interest. The get-up of this popular edition is all that could be desired except the obscene design on the cover.

The second volume under discussion is one that should be in the hands of every author and publisher. As Mr. Wheatley points out, few arts are more difficult of acquisition than that of making a good index, but with his hints and instructions before him, no maker of books should find an excuse in the future for failure in this respect. Only we doubt if many would be prepared to follow the elaborate schemes laid down in Chapter VII. The chapters on “Amusing and Bad Indexes” are excellent reading, and as examples of “how not to do it” the indexes of periodicals given on pp. 54 and 60 should serve as an awful warning.

We are glad to see that Mr. Wheatley condemns the practice

adopted in the British Museum Catalogue of combining I with J and U with V, which must have tried many a reader's temper, and certainly seems difficult to justify. And having lately had occasion to make use of a book of travels in Sicily in which the index is rendered unnecessarily elaborate and confusing by transgression of his rule that classification must be strictly within the alphabet, we most fully endorse his remarks on that head (see p. 68). Books without indexes are fortunately becoming daily rarer; we hope that Mr. Wheatley's invaluable compilation will have even happier results, and that in future no book will appear without a *good* index.

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